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Social Change in Town and Country in Eleventh-Century Byzantium

Edited by JAMES HOWARD-JOHNSTON



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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ADelt	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
AEMTh	<i>To Archaiologiko Ergo ste Makedonia kai ste Thrake</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Archeologia Medievale</i>
ArchAnz	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
Arch.Iug.	<i>Archaeologia Iugoslavica</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CÉFR	<i>Collection de l'École Française de Rome</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DXAE	<i>Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias</i>
FSI	<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i>
IJCT	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i>
IRAİK	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople</i>
Ist.Mitt.	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
MEFRM	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
MGH, SS	<i>MGH, Scriptores</i>
Num.Chron.	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
QFIAB	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i>

<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Études byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i>
<i>TIB</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>

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Introduction

James Howard-Johnston

This volume publishes, rather belatedly, the proceedings of a workshop on the social order in eleventh-century Byzantium held in Oxford in May 2011, the third in a series of workshops funded by the British Academy, on *The Transformation of Byzantium: Law, Literature and Society in the Eleventh Century*. It forms a pendant to the publication of the proceedings of the second workshop on Michael Psellos, the foremost intellectual of the age, and the circles in which he moved—to which have been added Michael Jeffreys's invaluable summaries and analyses of the full corpus of his letters.¹ A first workshop on law and legal practice in Byzantium prepared the way for the systematic study of the *Peira*, a collection of the judgements, opinions, and legal arguments of Eustathios Romaios, a judge who rose to head the judiciary in the reign of Romanos III Argyros (1028–34).²

The fundamental structures of Byzantium in the eleventh century have not been subjected to close and sustained scrutiny since the 1970s when Alexander Kazhdan published his sociological analysis of the aristocracy and Paul Lemerle, the de Gaulle of Byzantine studies at the time, organized a *colloque* on economic, social, and institutional history as well as publishing a collection of studies of his own.³ Forty years on, the Byzantinists of Paris and Oxford are reviving interest in the period.⁴ For it was then that Byzantium reached its

¹ M. Jeffreys and M. Lauxtermann, eds, *The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford, 2017).

² J. Howard-Johnston, 'The *Peira* and Legal Practices in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in M.D. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow, eds, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between* (Abingdon, 2017), 63–76.

³ A.P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'ny sostav gospodstvujushchevo klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974); *Travaux et mémoires*, 6 (1976), *Recherches sur le XIe siècle*; P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle* (Paris, 1977).

⁴ B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet, eds, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, TM 21.2 (2017); Lauxtermann and Whittow, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*. A conference held at Athens represented a brief burst of

political apogee. It was acknowledged to be the leading power in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Latin Christendom, after a century-long drive to extend its authority over the Arab marches, western Armenia, and the Balkans.⁵ At home the economy was growing, as is indicated, inter alia, by pollen evidence for agricultural expansion, archaeological evidence for the development of new ceramic industries, and growth in the money supply manifest in debasement of the gold coinage. There is no dearth of source material. It was a period of unprecedented literary and intellectual activity, which has left a comparatively voluminous and variegated body of textual evidence.⁶

There can be no doubt that the changes taking place were transformative, not least because of the sudden reversal of fortune and doleful record of defeat in the 1060s and 1070s. But much remains unclear. There are many texts crying out for close study, above all the *Peira*. Although it is quite unique, casting as it does a bright light on the justice system and the seamy side of life in Byzantium, it has never been subjected to thorough legal and historical analysis. It is therefore far from clear whether there is solid grounding for the influential view, originating with Dieter Simon, that legal argumentation was simply one rhetorical strategy among others and that the justice system was amenable to pressure from powerful interests, rather than striving to apply Roman law equitably to the manifold cases brought before the courts. This issue is intimately connected to the larger, and very live, question as to whether or not Byzantium underwent something akin to the feudal revolution in Latin Christendom. For we do not, as yet, know how much of the old social order, based ultimately on the peasant village, survived the land-grabbing by elites in the tenth and early eleventh centuries; nor has there been a full, systematic calibration of the similarities and differences in the structural features of the power formations of the Byzantine and Western aristocracies.⁷ At the same time as these changes in land ownership, there were also profound changes in the intellectual culture of Byzantium. Writers revealed their

collective interest around the turn of the millennium—V.N. Vlyssidou, ed., *The Empire in Crisis (?): Byzantium in the 11th Century (1025–1081)* (Athens, 2003).

⁵ M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (London, 1996), 317–57, 374–90.

⁶ A. Izdebski, G. Koloch, and T. Słoczyński, 'Exploring Byzantine and Ottoman Economic History with the Use of Palynological Data: A Quantitative Approach', *JÖB* 65 (2015), 67–109, at 85–9; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 'Byzantine Glazed Ceramics on the Market: An Approach', in C. Morrisson, ed., *Trade and Markets in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 2012), 193–216; C. Morrisson, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XIe siècle: Essai d'interprétation', *TM* 6 (1976), 3–47; F. Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081* (Oxford, 2014).

⁷ Despite a massive work on a key feature of the social order (M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012)), and a succinct analysis of key features of the aristocracy (M. Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation der byzantinischen Aristokratie vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 2015)).

individuality for the first time in the eleventh century. Reason began to play a larger role as intellectuals looked at the world around them. Literary creativity was on the rise. The nature of these cultural changes remains, however, imperfectly understood. Most of the specifics—of individual biographies, of the full corpora of authors' works, of contemporary literary expectations, and of authors' stylistic idiosyncrasies—have yet to be grasped and evaluated, and much of the best writing awaits proper critical appraisal.

Seven of the nine papers delivered at the workshop are being published. An additional paper, that of Pamela Armstrong on Greece, was commissioned to fill a gaping hole in the coverage. Some impressionistic introductory remarks have mutated into the final general survey of Byzantium's condition (social, economic, and cultural) and its performance in the eleventh century.

The untimely death of Mark Whittow in a horrendous motorway crash on the eve of Christmas Eve 2017 has deprived us of his (delayed) contribution on the Feudal Revolution. He would have opened this collection of papers with a characteristically lucid and wide-ranging survey of the surviving evidence and some provisional conclusions of his. While the principal function of this Introduction is to introduce the individual papers which are included, it is only fitting to begin with a resumé of the paper which Mark delivered at the workshop back in 2011.

Mark Whittow was a Byzantinist who could and did range far afield, east into Muslim lands and west over the whole of Latin Christendom (as well as north towards the Baltic and north-east over the steppes). In his paper, he outlined developments in scholarly thinking about the fundamental structures of western Europe, north and south of the Alps, in the ninth–twelfth centuries. Starting with the work of Georges Duby on the archives of Cluny (*La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953)), he moved on to the syntheses of the 1980s, which brought into question several of Duby's theses—about the break-up of the state, about the supersession of public by private justice, and about the presumption that changes in legal and administrative terminology signalled real changes in society. He demurred and was inclined to stand shoulder to shoulder with Thomas Bisson, who revitalized the case for revolutionary change in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries in *Past and Present* in 1994, and robustly defended his positions in disputation with four interlocutors in two subsequent issues.⁸ Bisson's conclusion that there was 'a profound, and in some regions troubled, restructuring of power, hastening the displacement of official or bureaucratic action by lordship' (*PP* 155 (1997), 225) was accepted by Mark, who, like him, was prepared, reservedly, to use the phrase *Feudal Revolution*.

⁸ T.N. Bisson, 'The Feudal Revolution', *PP* 142 (1994), 6–42; Debate on the 'Feudal Revolution', *PP* 152 (1996), 196–223 (D. Barthélemy and S.D. White), *PP* 155 (1997), 177–225 (T. Reuter, C. Wickham and T.N. Bisson).

Mark had no doubt that radical change came upon Latin Christendom in the later tenth and eleventh centuries. Violence was on the increase, as local elites competed and fought for authority and influence, initially within a framework of provincial government inherited from the Carolingians. The evidence was to be found in eleventh-century charters, longer than before and more informative (for example in the Vendômois and Catalonia), and in a favourite source of Mark's, the officially sponsored *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, put together in two stages in the first half of the eleventh century. The shrine of St Foy at Conques was attracting large numbers of pilgrims, including many who had suffered in the fighting and credited the saint with healing their wounds or freeing them from captivity.⁹ The appearance for the first time of private castles, which spread like gangrene over the landscape of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, also testified to the increasing prevalence of discord in the localities. They provided secure bases for predatory local lords and their armed followings to secure their authority in the immediately surrounding localities and to compete with rival lords and their armed followings. It was again the evidence from Conques which Mark cited (from the rich archive of the Abbey as well as the collection of miracle stories), together with the documentation used by Dominique Barthélemy for the appearance of peripheral castles in the Vendômois.¹⁰ Castellans and the knights who served them in return for treasure or land, were the principal agents of disorder and constituted in aggregate the principal force which changed the social order in the localities. This process had already been analysed by Pierre Toubert, who showed, in his magnum opus on *incastellamento*, how the private castle changed the whole social order in Latium, how the landscape was reordered to enforce social control by local lords.¹¹

This new prominence, strength, and assertiveness of lords and their armed followings in the localities manifested itself in the sphere of justice, where the formal hearing of cases in public, by properly constituted courts (themselves never entirely impervious to local nexuses of power), yielded to the informal exercise of social power. This was well documented from the 1040s and 1050s in Catalonia by Pierre Bonnassie. Like Bonnassie, Mark gorged on the rich archives of the region, which contain over 15,000 documents predating the twelfth century. They left Bonnassie in no doubt that there was an increasingly violent struggle between powerful predators for wealth and power between 1020 and 1060. It was, he saw, an era of growing economic prosperity (fuelled by gold from Andalucía) and of weakening public authority (that of the

⁹ P. Bonnassie, 'L'An Mil à Conques', in P. Bonnassie and P. Toubert, eds, *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'An Mil* (Toulouse, 2004), 13–29.

¹⁰ D. Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme: del'an mil au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1993), 28–32, 333–64.

¹¹ P. Toubert, *Les structure du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Rome, 1973).

Counts of Barcelona). Greater and lesser lords set about attacking monasteries and imposing (by abuse of judicial process, intimidation, and armed force) their private authority on hitherto free, independent, allodial peasants. The resistance of the peasantry, no longer able to colonize wastelands behind a moving frontier, no longer providing a key component of the armed forces of Christendom (as cavalry superseded infantry as the main fighting arm), weakened in the face of lordly pressure. At the same time, the lords, great and small, began to conclude private agreements, *convenientiae*, to limit conflict with each other—through non-aggression pacts, defensive alliances, or straight peace treaties. Oaths, sworn acceptance of obligations, replaced the reference to public authority customary in the past. A new feudal order—of lordship, conditional tenure, and fidelity, underpinned by oaths—began to take shape, which was to be formalized in the twelfth century.¹²

This new order—Mark agreed with Bisson—could be seen emerging all over Latin Christendom in the course of the eleventh century, the speed of change being most marked where the economy flourished—as in Catalonia—or where lordship was backed by intrusive monarchical power—as in post-Conquest Britain.¹³ Castles, nucleated villages, and open fields were unmistakable signs of the new relationship.

Mark then turned to Byzantium. The search for signs of seigneurial power analogous to that demonstrable in France, Italy, and Catalonia was hampered above all by the paucity of documentary material.¹⁴ Thus the archives of the great houses on Athos held relatively few documents compared to those of even small Pyrenean monasteries, let alone cathedral archives (which had no analogue in Byzantium). So the Byzantinist had to rely much more on literary sources, and to turn to material remains. Perhaps the most striking new insight into the social history of Byzantium was that of Robert Ousterhout, who reinterpreted the ‘courtyard monasteries’ of Cappadocia as lay residential complexes.

There was an aristocracy in Byzantium.¹⁵ It too was locally rooted, and predatory. As in Catalonia, the *powerful* were striving to gain control of the lands of the *poor*. But it differed in certain important respects. Its power derived primarily from government service, from the money

¹² P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne au tournant de l’an mil* (Paris, 1990), 15–21, 281–313.

¹³ P. Bonnassie, ed., *Fiefs et féodalité dans l’Europe méridionale (Italie, France du Midi, Péninsule ibérique) du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Toulouse, 2002).

¹⁴ The relative isolation of many Byzantine monasteries, clustering together on holy mountains and detached from the secular world, also limited the amount of information their archives can provide about wider society.

¹⁵ With many gradations, from the great magnates of central and eastern Asia Minor down to local gentry, drawn from the middling ranks of the army and civilian officialdom. Cf. J.-C. Cheynet, ‘L’aristocratie byzantine (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)’, *Journal des Savants* (July–December 2000), 281–322 (trans. in J.-C. Cheynet, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function* (Aldershot, 2006), no. I).

earned and the connections gained in the course of a career. It was more numerous—comprising middling as well as high-ranking officials, both active and retired, and a large body of army officers, again including those no longer in active service.¹⁶ It was, above all, the context which was different. Byzantium was a strong state, centralized, with effective fiscal grip over the localities and with a functioning justice system. From the 920s, when the authorities took note of growing abuse of power in the provinces, successive imperial regimes countered with emotionally charged legislation, prohibiting the alienation of land owned by the poor, whether under coercion or not, to powerful individuals living outside their villages. Contracts of sale or gift or bequest were declared void, and land alienated after the issuing of the major piece of legislation in September 934 was to be returned without compensation. The legislative pressure was sustained for seventy years, details being clarified, loopholes closed, and time limits extended.¹⁷ In the eleventh century it fell to the courts to uphold the law, and the signs are that they succeeded in curbing aristocratic depredation.

Mark cited four types of evidence. First there is the collection of the opinions and judgements of a great eleventh-century judge. They are recorded in a work, entitled the *Peira* (literally ‘Experience’), put together probably by a devoted clerk. The judge was the Magistros Eustathios Romaios, who had been highly regarded as a young lawyer in the reign of Basil II and who went on to become chief justice (Drungar of the Watch) in the reign of Romanos III Argyros (1028–34).¹⁸ This unique text which survives in a single late manuscript leaves us in doubt that the courts applied the tenth-century legislation and strove to hold social forces at bay.¹⁹ In the second place, the charter evidence from southern Italy, much richer than that from within the core territories of Byzantium, together with the archaeology of the region, showed that the coagulation of local power in seigneurial hands was a product of the Norman conquest. In the days of Byzantine rule, fortified towns were the nodal points in the countryside, and even the leading notables of those towns and important local officials had difficulty consolidating their landholdings.²⁰ Hagiography, the third type of source, a genre which attended to realities on the ground in Byzantium, supplied plenty of information about property and power in the localities. Mark picked out the Life of St Lazaros of Galesion,

¹⁶ R. Morris, ‘The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality’, *PP* 73 (1976), 3–27.

¹⁷ N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs Macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994); E. McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Toronto, 2000).

¹⁸ C.E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, ed., *Practica ex actis Eustathii Romani* (Leipzig, 1856). Cf. Howard-Johnston, ‘The *Peira* and Legal Practice’.

¹⁹ *Peira* 8.1; 9.1–7, 9–10; 40.12; 57.1.

²⁰ G. Noyé, ‘New Light on the Society of Byzantine Italy’, Chapter 7 in this volume.

another of his favourite sources, indeed the original focus of his doctoral thesis, for its significant silence about aristocratic depredation.²¹ There were undoubtedly aristocratic estates dotted about the rich coastal plains of western Asia Minor. Some progress had been made towards their consolidation, as is demonstrable from the *praktikon* recording the land and personnel granted to Andronikos Doukas in the lower Maeander valley in 1073.²² But the varied clientele of the saint, whether from town or country, did not complain about encroachment or violence against peasant villagers.

The fourth and final type of evidence was provided by the landscape. As Mark himself demonstrated in an important article of his, the private castle was thoroughly alien to Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²³ There may have been many castles in Asia Minor. They had indeed played a vital part in the successful defence of Byzantine territory in the dark age. But they were military installations, garrisoned by local forces. They might be seized by rebels, but they were not owned by them. It was a fundamental principle of Byzantine government as of Roman that no fortification work should be undertaken without official sanction. So instead of the seigneurial castle, what we find in Byzantium is the fortified city and the castle, both state-controlled, and the unfortified gentry residence, which kept its distance from the village of small peasant houses, and the attendant muck and animal life of the farming world. Gentry houses, an impressive façade perhaps fronting their courtyards, with reception halls and private chapels, have been preserved in Cappadocia, where buildings could be carved into the soft tufa. The best-known collection of such houses is at Çanlı Kilise, where they nestle together around the base of a hill. Impressive and comfortable such residences may have been, but they did not dominate the landscape like seigneurial castles in the contemporary West.²⁴

Mark ended with some remarks on the gathering crisis in the last third of the eleventh century. He saw change gathering pace in Byzantium, largely because of the severe cut-back in annual salaries (*rogai*) for holders of titles instituted by Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), after a first failed attempt under

²¹ Text: AASS, *Novembris*, III (Brussels, 1910), 508–88, trans. R.P.H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* (Washington, D.C., 2000). Discussion: M. Whittow, 'The Life of St. Lazaros of Galesion: How to Fund and Maintain a Successful Monastery', in M. Mullett, ed., *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries* (Belfast, 2007), 251–72.

²² Text: *Byzantina Engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou*, II, ed. M.Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980), 50.66–327. Analysis: P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2011), 259–70.

²³ M. Whittow, 'Rural Fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium, Tenth to Twelfth Century', in S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp, and D. Tsougarakis, eds, *Bosphoros: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango = BF 21* (1995), 57–74.

²⁴ R.G. Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 2017), 279–368.

Isaac Komnenos (1057–9).²⁵ As this coincided with Turkish advances in the east and the wholesale flight of aristocracy and gentry from Asia Minor, it led to a drastic reshaping of the social order: those aristocrats in favour with the Komnenian regime were able to retain status through imperial land grants, while others, including some of the greatest families, sank down the social order.²⁶ As for the relations of aristocracy and peasantry, Mark held his counsel, leaving the topic to other speakers.

Shorn it may be of this virtuoso piece of historical writing by our much-missed colleague, nonetheless this volume aims to present penetrating analyses of the social order in town and country in eleventh-century Byzantium. The following brief abstracts will, it is hoped, provide useful guidance for readers.

1. Jean-Claude Cheynet sketches in what can be seen of the evolution of the social order in Constantinople. One phenomenon is well documented. From the reign of Basil II, aristocratic families were encouraged to base themselves in the capital, where, on the one hand, they could be watched, but, on the other, they could extend their affinities and strengthen their position through intermarriage with court and bureaucratic families. There was consequently a weakening of the traditional leadership of the provinces and growing aristocratic influence at the centre. Second, there is clear evidence of upward mobility among the bureaucracy and judiciary, for whom the Senate was enlarged and to whom honours were sold on an increasing scale (so as to recoup the growing cost of honours' salaries). To the traditional sources of wealth, members of these families were able to accrue income from managerial posts on crown and fiscal lands. Finally, as regards the middling classes, who constituted the active core of the 'people'—namely the lower echelons of the bureaucracy, palace personnel, merchants, artisans, leading retainers of aristocrats—there are indications that they were able to exercise considerable political influence, although it was never decisive, because they did not act in concert with the civil bureaucracy.
2. Dimitris Krallis likewise focuses on Constantinople, looking through the eyes of his subject, a self-made man who rose high in imperial service in the course of the century. Attaleiates was a lawyer from the provinces who came to prominence under Constantine X (1059–67). He believed in hard work and the unimpeded functioning of the market within a framework of state regulation and taxation. He succeeded in building up a substantial portfolio of business interests in the metropolitan region.

²⁵ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Transformations in Byzantine Society in the Eleventh Century, Particularly in Constantinople', Chapter 1 in this volume.

²⁶ J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 237–45.

Like other members of the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia, he conceived of the Byzantine Empire as akin to the Roman state at the time of the Augustan settlement, which emperors were duty-bound to protect, whatever the fiscal cost, and which should incorporate the foreigners in its service into the body politic. Attaleiates' ability to move effortlessly between regimes was characteristic of high-ranking officials and courtiers of the period, who shared his views on the primacy of the state.

3. Kostis Smyrlis shifts attention to rural society, noting evidence for economic growth. Inevitably there is some conjecture in the picture of social change which he draws, since he must rely primarily on the documentary record, which is restricted largely to snapshots of western Asia Minor and views from a single vantage point, Athos, in southern Macedonia. Extrapolating from this evidence, he argues that large estates, both private and those owned by the state, grew massively at the expense of peasant holdings and that the tenantry (*paroikoi*) on such estates were worse off at the end of the century than they had been as independent smallholders or than they would be in the twelfth century when there was more competition for their labour. He notes the presence of middling landowners in the provinces, with city notables at their head, whose own self-aggrandisement (directed at land acquisition more than trade) clashed with that of the powerful lay and monastic houses of Constantinople. He also stresses the efficacy of action by the state to check the growth of large estates. He thus presents a picture of social change more nuanced than that which is generally accepted.
4. Eva Kaptijn and Marc Waelkens summarize the findings of the Belgian team which excavated Sagalassos and surveyed its territory between 1990 and 2013. The initial results conformed to those obtained for other regions of Asia Minor, pointing to a collapse of urban life and concomitant denudation of the surrounding country in the seventh century. But everything changed with the renewal of excavation in the area of the classical city from 2000. Evidence of continuing habitation from the seventh through the eleventh century was found at two sites, one on the edge of the old monumental centre, the second to the south where the temple of Antoninus Pius had once stood. A third site, outside the classical city on a steep hill (Alexander's Hill), was shown to have been turned into a fortified redoubt in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and to have been violently destroyed at the beginning of the thirteenth. A by-product of these excavations was the establishment of a ceramic typology for the dark age (seventh–ninth centuries), key indicators being local coarse kitchen wares (mainly closed round-bodied pots), and for the following middle Byzantine period. This made it possible to identify and date Byzantine settlements in Sagalassos'

territory. The results are important and, in some cases, surprising: (1) there was a sharp decline (by a factor of five) in the number of settlements after 650, a phenomenon which accords with palynological evidence of a shift from agriculture to pastoralism; (2) settlements continued to occupy sites in or near fertile plains until the tenth century, despite the insecurity provoked by Arab raiding; (3) despite palynological evidence for an increase in human activity, there was no significant growth in the number or size of settlements between the middle of the tenth and the middle of the twelfth century; (4) paradoxically, migration to more secure, hilltop sites occurred in this period, when large estates were expanding at the expense of peasant smallholdings; (5) even more surprising, there was a movement of population from the ancient hilltop site of Sagalassos to the valley of Ağlasun in the twelfth century.

5. Philipp Niewöhner complements the close focus of the Sagalassos study with a broad view of building activity across the length and breadth of Asia Minor, before and during the eleventh century. He identifies two diagnostic features of tenth- and eleventh-century architecture in the East—extensive use of brick and recessed blind arcades. This enables him to demonstrate a marked decline in the amount of new church-building after the ninth century, and to stress the contrast with evidence for extensive construction of middle Byzantine churches in Greece and Constantinople. He homes in on the new churches at Üçayak in north-west Cappadocia, Islamköy in Pisidia, Çeltikdere in Bithynia, the harbour chapel at Side (Pamphylia), Ihlara Kilise, and Çanlı Kilise (both in Cappadocia). The small size and rural siting of most of these churches he associates with aristocratic patronage in an era when the elite lived in country houses. There is evidence too, he notes, of patronage in the towns—the funding of carved marble epistyles of templon screen to replace earlier wooden ones—but he views the eleventh century as one of urban decline, manifested in the increasingly restricted areas fortified in the decades after the Battle of Manzikert at Aizanoi, Sardis, Aphrodisias, Miletos, and Patara.
6. Pamela Armstrong's account of what is known from survey work and excavation in Greece, supplemented from written sources, confirms the impression that Asia Minor was something of a backwater in the eleventh century. The ceramic typology established in the past from the Corinth excavations (dating production of new styles of decorated glazed tableware towards the end of the century) made it possible to differentiate between early–middle eleventh century sites and Komnenian sites (late eleventh and twelfth century) in Greece. Demographic expansion through the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been well documented by a number of regional surveys, of which the most important were those of

Laconia and Boeotia. There was a fourfold increase in the number of sites in Laconia. Two important advances—phosphate analysis of soils around sites identified by sherd scatters and identification of medium-sized storage vessels, found without the usual domestic wares out in the country, as holding water for agricultural labourers—enabled archaeologists to differentiate between five types of site in Laconia—*proasteia* (estates), *choria* (nucleated villages), *agridia* (hamlets), farmsteads, and activity centres in the fields. These they could then map in relation to the local centre of demand, Sparta, and to the route system, noting that the apparently ordered expansion of the eleventh century (possibly influenced by the authorities) gave way to something of a rush for vacant land in the twelfth. New building testifies to a revitalizing of towns, as does the evidence for industrial activity and exports to distant markets. Two types of ceramic vessel are picked out as key indicators of trade, the rather old-fashioned-looking Günsenin III amphorae made in Boeotia for the export of Greek wine, and the fine-glazed decorated tableware made at Euripos, the port for Thebes, which, Armstrong suggests, was used as ballast for cargoes of silk cloth made in Thebes. Rising prosperity, she concludes, spread out from the towns, to judge by finds of glazed pottery on rural sites.

7. Dearth of source material, which all too often frustrates historians of Byzantium, especially those concerned mainly with Asia Minor, is not a problem for Ghislaine Noyé. For there is almost too much evidence—documentary, historical (from local chronicles), hagiographical, and archaeological—about the many localities—fortified towns (*kastra*) which are thickly scattered across the landscape, castles (*kastellia*), villages (*choria*), fortified refuges and monasteries—to be found on the plains of Apulia and in the hill country of Lucania and Calabria in the Byzantine sector of southern Italy. Further complexity is added by the troubled history of the region, under attack in the tenth and earlier eleventh centuries by Arab sea-raiders from without, disturbed by rebellion and factional conflict within, and only subjected to effective Byzantine authority at intervals. There were two principal consequences—growing autonomy on the part of urban notables, who might have to fend for themselves when attacked, and the emergence of anti-Byzantine factions among the notables, which culminated in open rebellions in the eleventh century. Initially the exercise of hard power appears to have been welcome. It took different forms at different times—(1) the dispatch of large expeditionary forces (notably in late ninth century and the third quarter of the eleventh); (2) investment in military infrastructure, to create mini-*limites* to secure southern Calabria and its mines (middle tenth century), around the bay of Taranto (late tenth century), and along the northern frontier between

the Apennines and Monte Gargano (third quarter, eleventh century); and (3) installation of garrisons of *tagma* soldiers in the principal coastal cities of Apulia and Calabria, toward the end of the tenth century. Office-holding joined ownership of land and investment in trade as a prime source of notables' local influence. This locally rooted power, focused in the towns, in due course, because of distance from the governing centre, instilled self-reliance in the notables' leaders and made them less susceptible to firm action by the authorities. Refractoriness on their part, along with the presence of secure bases on neighbouring Lombard territory, opened the way for successful Norman intervention.

8. Tim Greenwood turns his attention to a key sector of the eastern periphery of Byzantium, the large Armenian principality of Tarōn, once a centre of Mamikonean power, subsequently taken over by members of the ramified Bagratid family, which was annexed in 966–7. It lay to the west of Lake Van between the Armenian Taurus and the Arsianias river, immediately beyond the western districts of Armenia over which Byzantium had gradually, by a subtle combination of force, diplomacy, and propaganda, extended its authority over preceding decades. The context for the annexation was the age-old interplay between Byzantium and Armenia, 'pulses of Byzantine influence being transmitted simultaneously from different foci, engendering a spectrum of receptions and reactions across the regions and districts of historic Armenia'. He argues, on the analogy of the later annexation of Vaspurakan, that the lay and ecclesiastical leadership emigrated when the two sons of Ashot ceded sovereignty over Tarōn in return for the high rank of *patrikios* and estates on Byzantine territory, and that there was consequently 'severe disruption, if not complete collapse, of local networks of power and authority' within Tarōn. Tarōn was incorporated into the provincial administrative system of western Armenia. The Byzantine system of raising troops from designated military lands was probably introduced. Crown estates were established. Most significant of all, though, was the reorganization of the church into two or three episcopal sees under the oversight of the metropolitan of Keltzene, Kortzene, and Tarōn, and a concomitant reshaping of historical memory about the coming of Christianity in the deep past.
9. The final editorial reflections are not intended to serve as some sort of judgment on various arguments put forward by individual contributors, nor to provide definitive conclusions about important aspects (cultural, economic, social, and political) of eleventh-century Byzantine history. They simply present the response of one Byzantinist to Ostrogorsky's negative appraisal current fifty years ago. Ostrogorsky did not, indeed could not, deny that the eleventh century witnessed considerable economic growth and intellectual uplift, but argued that two fundamental

structural components of Byzantium, the peasantry and the system of military lands, were seriously eroded and that successive governments, dominated by the civilian bureaucracy, opposed the military interest and succeeded in weakening the armed forces. He was undoubtedly right to observe that the great and not-so-great acquired land at the expense of smallholders, but not to take it as far as he did, arguing that the peasant ceased to be a significant element in rural society. A spectrum of contrary views is on offer, from that of large-scale but not thoroughgoing social change (Kostis Smyrlis) to a substantial shift in the balance of landed power (Jean-Claude Cheynet, Pamela Armstrong, and Ghislaine Noyé) to the idiosyncratic editorial stance which conjectures that peasants were to be found everywhere and formed the dark matter of the Byzantine social order in the eleventh and later centuries. As for policy, there is explicit testimony about continuing imperial concern with defence (Attaleiates may be viewed as expressing a prevailing consensus). The prime explanation for the catastrophes which befell Byzantium in West and East in the second half of the century should be sought in the strengths of its adversaries and in the particularities of the two sectors of the periphery which were overrun.

A single volume cannot do justice to the complexities of a subject as large as the social history of Byzantium in its heyday. There is much more to be said about Asia Minor, heartland of the state in previous centuries. It is true that the general trend in the tenth and eleventh centuries was for the peasantry to yield up land to those termed the 'powerful', whose status and leverage in the localities derived more from public office and connections than from landed or liquid wealth. We have tackled the contentious issue of the pace of change, but have sidled away from the impact of geography, climate, and human factors on the different, distinct regions which make up Asia Minor and were recognized as such in antiquity. It should not be imagined that Bithynia and Roman Asia (the Aegean coastlands) developed in the same way and at the same pace as Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia in the interior or Pontus in the north or Isauria in the south-east. Distance, from the governing centre and principal market in Constantinople, or from the coast and easy access to maritime exchange networks, was one differentiating factor. Another was relief—we cannot expect similar rhythms of social change in the highlands and adjoining lowlands, or on the rolling country, largely given over to ranching, of the interior plateau and on the larger and smaller alluvial plains scattered across this mini-continent. War, of course, was another important differentiating factor and the consequent growing insecurity of the frontier zone in the East from the middle of the century, all too susceptible to Turcoman raiding, and of settlements along the main lines of invasion into and across the interior plateau.

For all the comparative abundance of source material by comparison with preceding centuries, the Byzantinist is hamstrung for lack of archival documents

and local saints' lives away from the Marmara and Aegean coastlands of Asia Minor. The same is true of the Balkans north of Greece and away from the penumbra of Mount Athos. We cannot expect town and country (the emphasis being very much on country) to have followed the same course of development in the open plains of Thrace as in the agglomeration of upland basins and wooded hills which constitutes Macedonia in the heart of the Balkans or in the mountains of Epirus or in the more open country settled by Serbs and Croats or, finally, in the core territory of the early medieval Bulgar state in the north-east—not least because it was only in the eleventh century that everyday use of money was percolating into former Bulgar-controlled lands in the northern and western Balkans.

The archaeological contributions to this volume also make it plain that there were differences at least as great between the main component parts of Byzantium as within them. Most striking is the much higher density of fortified towns in Calabria, Lucania, and Apulia than in Greece and the Balkans or Asia Minor. This may be explained in part by greater investment in defence in the tenth and eleventh centuries on the part of the imperial authorities, but economic buoyancy surely mattered more. Southern Italy benefitted from a privileged position commanding the narrows between the two basins of the Mediterranean and from proximity to the flourishing markets of Muslim North Africa and Lombard Campania. Then there is the much more plentiful evidence for demographic growth, intensification of rural settlement, and industrial development in Greece than in Asia Minor. Part of the explanation may lie in the greater involvement of Greece in the Aegean exchange system, but migration from east to west may also have had a role. Apart from the appearance of new decorative motifs on glazed ceramics, traceable to production centres in the Caliphate, which, Pamela Armstrong conjectures, may have been brought by migrant artisans, there is independent evidence of migration on a large scale of Armenians into eastern Asia Minor and Cilicia, which may have had a knock-on effect, and of the movement west into the metropolitan region of the gypsies who would be attested throughout the Balkans by the fourteenth century.²⁷

It is only archaeological survey work, both extensive and intensive, which can compensate for the lack of local written sources (outside southern Italy). From the few pools of light cast by such surveys—on Pisidia by the Sagalassos survey together with other less fine-grained surveys in Asia Minor,²⁸ on

²⁷ N.G. Garsoian, 'The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou, eds, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1998), 53–124; G.C. Soulis, 'The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages', *DOP* 15 (1961), 141–65.

²⁸ See, for example, W. Anderson, 'Settlement Change in Byzantine Galatia: An Assessment of Finds from the General Survey of Central Anatolia', *Anatolian Archaeological Studies* 17 (2008), 233–9; R. Matthews, M. Metcalfe, and D. Cottica, 'Landscape with Figures: Paphlagonia through

Greece south and north of the Isthmus of Corinth by the Laconia and Boeotia surveys—historians and archaeologists must try to feel their way into the enveloping darkness. Extrapolation is the key to understanding, despite all its risks. It should be carried out with a delicate, sensitive touch, but without too much hesitancy and with close attention to circumstantial evidence.

The most important single circumstance was that the diverse regions and major component parts belonged to a single body politic. They were incorporated into the same imperial governmental structure and were, to varying degrees, suffused by the same Christianized classical culture. Government postings to provinces near and far, a fiscal system with grip, tribunals applying Roman law and answerable to appeal courts in the capital, relatively good communications, and a single official language (a clear, slightly archaic, semi-mandarin Greek) united the ramified territories under Byzantine rule. A polyethnic, multilingual empire, with substantial minorities speaking Armenian, Arabic, Slavonic, Vlach, Albanian, and Latin, was bound together and firmly subordinated to a superordinate earthly authority located in a politically and economically dominant metropolis.

Enlargement, far from weakening these ties, provided solid, earthly testimony for the emperor's divinely sanctioned rule, and imparted new impetus to trade (1) within the nexus of regional exchange networks—in the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Sea of Marmara, and the Black Sea—which constituted the Byzantine economic arena and (2) between it and the neighbouring arenas of the Tyrrhenian sea in the far west and, closer to hand, the east Mediterranean fronting Egypt and the Levant.²⁹ It follows that it makes sense to treat eleventh-century Byzantium, for all the regional variations, as a single great social space within which change might vary in pace but was proceeding in the same general direction.

I hope that this volume will add to understanding of the process of social change in town and country and the factors impinging upon it. The enterprise is of more than parochial interest since Byzantium in the eleventh century occupied a central place in the affairs of the westernmost segment of Eurasia and deserved its place among contemporary imperial powers.

the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods, 330 BC–AD 1453', in R. Matthews and C. Glatz, eds, *At Empire's Edge: Project Paphlagonia*, British Institute at Ankara, Monograph 44 (London, 2009), 173–226, at 193–9; and S.L. Allcock and N. Roberts, 'Changes in Regional Settlement Patterns in Cappadocia (Central Turkey) since the Neolithic: A Combined Site Survey Perspective', *Anatolian Studies* 64 (2014), 33–57, at 38–45, 50–1.

²⁹ V. François, 'A Distribution Atlas of Byzantine Ceramics: A New Approach to the Pottery Trade in Byzantium', and J. Vroom, 'Byzantine Sea Trade in Ceramics: Some Case Studies in the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. Seventh–Fourteenth Centuries)', both in P. Magdalino and N. Necipoglu, eds, *Trade in Byzantium* (Istanbul, 2016), 143–55, 157–77.

Transformations in Byzantine Society in the Eleventh Century, Particularly in Constantinople

Jean-Claude Cheynet

The assessment made some forty years ago at the important colloquium on the eleventh century organized by Paul Lemerle and fleshed out in his work, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle*, left its mark on the study of Byzantine society.¹ The article on the subject was written by Hélène Ahrweiler.² In previous decades, social studies concerning Byzantium had largely been influenced by Marxist thinking, with the question of ‘Byzantine feudalism’ at the forefront.³ From this perspective, the analysis of its society was structurally related to the political evolution of the Empire. The causes of the military disasters in the later third of the eleventh century were inevitably sought in the regrettable way society developed and not in the unprecedented scale of the multiple invasions to which the Empire fell prey. The weakening of imperial power was thus attributed to the rise of an aristocracy that had ‘privatized’ Byzantium’s resources for its sole benefit.

¹ The proceedings were published in two volumes: *TM* 6 (1976), *Recherches sur le XI^e siècle* and P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, Le Monde byzantin (Paris, 1977). An overview of current research has been published in the latest volume of *TM* (B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin. Quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, *TM* 21.2 (2017)).

² H. Ahrweiler, ‘Recherches sur la société byzantine du XI^e siècle: nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités’, *TM* 6 (1976), 99–124.

³ For this historiography, see E. Patlagean’s chapter in *Un Moyen Âge grec. Byzance IX^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2007), 47–60. A. Kazhdan includes a long discussion of the decentralization and ‘feudalization’ of the Byzantine state in A. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1985), 24–73.

It is undoubtedly in the treatment of the rural world that this way of thinking was most manifest. The great agrarian laws of the Macedonian emperors were interpreted as the consequence of a social struggle opposing small free landholders to rapacious large landowners who were always acting illegally. The result of this struggle was the elimination of this group of freeholders and the victory of the rural magnates, which caused both the impoverishment of the peasants who supplied the army with recruits and the severe weakening of the state's resources, because great landowners, who had access to power and could use it to instil fear, were able to obtain *exkoussiai* (exemptions) and avoid most taxation. This was invoked to explain much of the political and military crisis in the Empire in the eleventh century. Nicolas Svoronos's contribution to the Oxford Congress broadly followed the same line.⁴

Furthermore, Svoronos rightly pointed out that the reforms which apparently characterize the eleventh century were already coming into being in the previous century; this is especially true for the development of large estates. In effect, one of the questions that needs to be addressed is whether these leading notables in the provinces, particularly when they were entrusted with official duties (especially of a military kind), put greater pressure on the dependant peasants than on the small proprietors whose villages formed fiscal collectives and encouraged social solidarity vis-à-vis the taxman. We should further ask whether this pressure primarily came from their power as landowners or from the power delegated to them by the emperor.⁵

CURRENT VIEWS

This explanatory model has been challenged on many fronts. The reduction in the number of small free proprietors is incontrovertible, even though the trend took longer and was less thorough than the standard textbooks would have us believe. But the analysis of the consequences has been completely revised in three fundamental aspects: the countryside was not ruined, the state did not

⁴ N. Svoronos, 'Société et organisation intérieure dans l'Empire byzantin au XI^e siècle: les principaux problèmes', *Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Main Papers XII (Oxford, 1966), 371–89, reprinted in *idem*, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London, 1973), no. IX.

⁵ On the respective contributions of landed estates and imperial *doreai* to the economic power of the aristocracy, see J.-C. Cheynet, 'L'aristocratie byzantine (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)', *Journal des Savants* 2 (2000), 303–5, reprinted in *idem*, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function* (Aldershot, 2006), no. I; C. Holmes, 'Political Elites in the Reign of Basil II', in P. Magdalino, ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden–Boston, 2003), 46–9.

lose the greater part of its resources,⁶ and the army was not weakened by the failure of the Macedonian legislation.⁷

The Byzantine economy as a whole followed the general European trend and saw real prosperity during the first three-quarters of the eleventh century, particularly in the now pacified European provinces, with the exception of the northern fringe of the Balkans, which was still being attacked by the Pechenegs, the Uzes and other nomadic tribes. This peace promoted demographic expansion and consequently an increase in agricultural production, the output of which remained tightly linked to the number of hands available. This is a scenario far removed from that of the deserted villages which would have been engendered by an economic and social crisis.⁸ Nevertheless, there is an echo of this pessimism in Svoronos's writings: he believes he can detect a reduction in the size of the population, given the series of calamities that appear in the records, in particular military operations which caused great demographic losses.⁹ Svoronos was describing a relentless process: the reduced number of peasants led to a 'significant decline' in agricultural output, which weakened the entire economy, and which would explain why Byzantine merchants lost ground to their Italian colleagues, especially Venetian traders. As for the rise of large landholdings, it would have contributed to rural depopulation. The studies of Alan Harvey and Jacques Lefort have come up with an entirely different model, which shows that the Byzantine rural economy was expanding in the eleventh century, at least until invasions came to blight certain provinces.¹⁰

Since social conditions in the countryside are being treated elsewhere in this volume, little will be said here.¹¹ Let us merely recall that the *paroikos* or dependent peasant outnumbers the peasant proprietor. The difference in status is more legal than social. The *paroikos* now has to pay rent to the

⁶ See N. Oikonomides, 'The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy', in A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39, 3 vols (Washington, D.C., 2002), 1022–6, on all the measures introduced during the eleventh century, especially those of John the Orphanotrophos.

⁷ J.-C. Cheynet, 'La politique militaire de Basile II à Alexis Comnène', *Zbrnik Radova Viz. Inst.* 29–30 (1991), 61–74; J. Haldon, 'L'armée au XI^e siècle: quelques questions et quelques problèmes', in Flusin and Cheynet, *Lemerle*, 581–92. For an overview of a question which may now be regarded as obsolete and its rejection, see A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood: The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2017), especially his summary of the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, previously and wrongly classified as a 'civil' emperor (208–13).

⁸ H. Bibicou, 'Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XI^e siècle', *Annales ESC* 27 (1972), 215–46.

⁹ N. Svoronos, 'Société et organisation intérieure', 12.

¹⁰ A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989). On the factors affecting the development of the countryside, see J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries', *Economic History of Byzantium*, 267–75.

¹¹ K. Smyrlis, 'Social Change in the Countryside of Eleventh-Century Byzantium', Chapter 3 in this volume.

landowner in addition to tax, which represents a real increase in outgoings. But this heavier burden was in part compensated by the greater protection often offered by the landowner, including, when it affected the managers of state property, resistance to potential demands from tax officials. For a *paroikos* progressive recognition of the right of *possessor* (well established by the eleventh century) softened the blow of his losing his landholding. So too did gradual advances in productivity (linked to a better selection of seeds) and a slow but steady improvement in irrigation. Finally, while the *paroikos* rented his arable land, he had his own vineyard and garden, i.e. the most profitable parts of a family farm. All in all, the economic situation of the farmer did not necessarily become worse with the change in status.¹²

One should remember that it was these developments on the land which made it possible both for the state to increase its revenue and for aristocrats in regions still under imperial control to increase their income, and that they were at the same time boosting the prosperity of the Empire's cities, beginning with Constantinople. Between the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty and 1204, there were two peaks of prosperity, the first in the reign of Constantine Monomachos when the effects of demographic growth were already perceptible and the Empire reached its maximum extent, and the second under Manuel Komnenos when strong economic growth in Europe largely compensated for the loss of the Asia Minor provinces and the Balkans remained entirely under imperial control.

WHAT WAS SOCIETY LIKE IN CONSTANTINOPLE?

The situation in the towns, especially Constantinople, is difficult to assess because we do not have documents at our disposal akin to those of the Athos archives for the history of the rural world. In addition, there is little information available for the capital in preceding centuries. Nevertheless, one aspect is now undisputed: the demographic upturn, which started in the second half of the eighth century, enabled the population of the capital to recover to a level which made it the principal centre of consumption in the eastern Mediterranean.¹³ The political elites, the imperial and patriarchal bureaucracy, a merchant class, craftsmen, servants of the wealthier inhabitants, and finally

¹² For this whole evolution, see, J. Lefort, 'L'économie rurale à Byzance (VII^e-XI^e siècle)', in *idem*, *Société rurale et histoire du paysage à Byzance*, Bilans de recherche 1 (Paris, 2006), vol. XVIII, especially pp. 401-2; R. Estangüi and M. Kaplan, 'La société rurale au XI^e siècle: un monde en mutation', in Flusin and Cheynet, *Lemerle*, 531-60.

¹³ It is not possible to estimate the size of its population due to lack of census data. Various figures have been suggested, the most optimistic accepting more or less the testimony of Villehardouin, who puts it at around 400,000 on the eve of the Fourth Crusade: P. Magdalino,

the poor, the beggars, the prostitutes, and so on, lived in the city.¹⁴ This social hierarchy did not evolve much over the centuries, save with respect to the army and foreigners. In the eleventh century, Constantinople's garrison, which had been large at the height of the Arab threat, was limited to the regiments of the imperial palace guard, and even part of that was stationed in the provinces.¹⁵ On the other hand, the number of foreigners recruited by the army grew substantially with the territorial expansion of the Empire, many mercenaries arriving, Latins, easterners, and steppe nomads. But only a few of these, principally the Varangians, lived in the capital.

BASIL II AND THE PULL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OVER THE GREAT PROVINCIAL FAMILIES

Let us recall that our knowledge of the Byzantine aristocracy owes much to the work of Alexander Kazhdan, whose last publication (in Italian)¹⁶ restated and expanded his pioneering studies published in Russian more than twenty years earlier.¹⁷ The author made greater use than before of sigillography, exploiting the very large collection of lead seals at Dumbarton Oaks where he was living. Since then, there has been much progress in sigillography, in terms both the publication of collections and of monographs about individual families. This has made it possible to verify, supplement, or amend earlier hypotheses. In addition research on the aristocracy of Asia Minor, its provincial background, the careers of its members, its relationship with the capital,

Constantinople médiévale, Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines, Monogr. des TM 9 (Paris, 1996), 57.

¹⁴ For Constantinople and what went on there, there is a useful introduction: *Constantinople 1054–1261*, ed. A. Ducellier and M. Balard (Paris, 1996). For a recent analysis of the urban world, which complements this contribution, see J.-C. Cheynet, 'La société urbaine', in Fusin and Cheynet, *Lemerle*, 449–82.

¹⁵ For example, the stationing of the Excubites in Hellas (*Cecaumeni consilia et narrationes*, ed. and trans. G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972), 280) or the Varangians at Paipert (now Baiburt) (Aristakes Lastivertsi, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, trans. and comm. M. Canard and H. Berbérien (after the Russian edition and translation of K. Yuzbashian), *Bibliothèque de Byzantion* 5 (Bruxelles, 1973), 80).

¹⁶ A.P. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1997). At the time, while expressing my overall approval of the theses developed in this remarkable work, I had some reservations about some opinions expressed there, namely the idea of a generalized ownership of property by the state, the concept of nobility, the emphasis on a church nobility, and classification of this family or that within categories created by the author (J.-C. Cheynet, 'L'aristocrazia bizantina nei secoli X–XII: a proposito del libro di A. Kazhdan e S. Ronchey', *Rivista storica italiana* 113.2, 413–40); English translation in Cheynet, *Byzantine Aristocracy* 2, entitled 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the 10th–12th Centuries'.

¹⁷ A.P. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gosподstvujučego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974).

and the ideology that it promoted has been the subject of a recent publication by Luisa Andriollo.¹⁸

Up to the reign of Basil II, Byzantine society was dominated by the provincial aristocracy, the power of the emperor at Constantinople resting in effect on great provincial groupings, which changed with each political upheaval. Thus Leo VI and Constantine VII sought the support of the Phokas,¹⁹ while Romanos I Lekapenos allied himself with the Kourkouas²⁰ and the Skleroi.²¹ The great families of the time lived in their provincial palaces, although they made sure that representatives of their lineage stayed in the capital, to stress their support for the ruler and to obtain preferment, the titles and posts which would maintain or increase their fortune.

Basil II changed these practices, no doubt on purpose,²² after the great revolts of the Asia Minor aristocracy.²³ He had the advantage of a long reign. This ensured that his policies had a long-lasting effect well after his death. As has been emphasized on many occasions, he encouraged the military elite to come to Constantinople, joining the members of the bureaucracy whose jobs had always required them to live in the capital.²⁴ But, even though they were in the capital, these aristocrats did not neglect their economic interests as landowners in their home provinces, nor did they allow the networks of social connections which they had built up to decay.²⁵ Some aristocrats remained in the provinces, both those who did

¹⁸ L. Andriollo, *Constantinople et les provinces d'Asie Mineure, IX–XI siècles: administration impériale, sociétés locales et rôle de l'aristocratie*, Monographies des TM 52 (Leiden–Paris–Bristol, 2017). See also M. Grünbach's work on the manner of life and culture of the aristocracy over a period that spans more than the eleventh century: *Inszenierung und Repräsentation der byzantinischen Aristokratie vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 82 (Paderborn, 2015).

¹⁹ S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People 1000*, The Medieval Mediterranean 15 (Leiden, 1997), 204–7.

²⁰ L. Andriollo, 'Les Kourkouas (XI^e–XII^e siècle)', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 11 (2012), 57–87.

²¹ John Kourkouas was most probably replaced by Pantherios Skleros as Domestic of the Scholai at the end of the reign of Romanos Lekapenos: J.-C. Cheynet, 'Notes arabo-byzantines', *Mélanges Svoronos* (Rethymno, 1986), 145–7.

²² The emperor evidently sought to modify the composition of the Asia Minor aristocracy, notably through marriage alliances and the redistribution of imperial estates: J. Howard-Johnston, 'Crown Lands and the Defence of Imperial Authority in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *BF* 21 (1995), 75–100.

²³ Holmes, *Basil II*, 461–75 considers the idea that Basil II had tried to limit the estates of the eastern generals as overstated and suggests that it was the control of the army which was the principal bone of contention.

²⁴ This orientation of the provincial elites towards Constantinople in the eleventh century has been highlighted by Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur la société byzantine', 103–7.

²⁵ This applies especially to the Asia Minor aristocracy, the subject of Luisa Andriollo, *Constantinople et les provinces*; her observations are complemented in *eadem* and S. Métivier, 'Quel rôle pour les provinces dans la domination aristocratique au XI^e siècle?', in Flusin and Cheynet, *Lemerle*, 505–30.

not have sufficient social traction to be in direct contact with the *basileus*, and but also some members of the elite. The last, however, were generally either retired or more or less in disgrace. Nicephoros Phokas, nicknamed ‘Twisted-Neck’, was, in effect, living on his Cappadocian estate and held no official post when he rebelled in 1022. To have a chance of success, he had to ally himself to a *strategos* in post, Nikephoros Xiphias, who was in charge of the Anatolikon theme.²⁶ By contrast, Eustathios Maleinos, an associate of the Phokas, had to remain in the capital for the rest of his life, once Basil II became aware of the size of his fortune and his capacity to mobilize a force of his own.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE KOMNENOI, DOUKAI, AND SKLEROI

Manuel Komnenos, who formed part of Emperor Basil’s inner circle, still lived in Kastamon, but after his death his son Isaac (later to become emperor) and his brother John lived permanently in Constantinople, except when they took up commands that would send them away to the frontiers for indeterminate periods.²⁷ John’s sons, Manuel, Isaac, and Alexios, also lived in the capital with their mother Anna Dalassene. It is the city of Constantinople that the two brothers (John and Isaac) left when they took up posts as commanders. When Alexios Komnenos went through Kastamon and visited the property of his grandfather Manuel, he was overcome by nostalgia for a palace that was no longer occupied and that he had seemingly never visited. Its abandonment therefore may not have been a response to Turkish raiding. As for the Doukas family, they also mostly resided in Constantinople, perhaps from the time of Basil II onwards. Admittedly, the Caesar John Doukas, the unruly brother of the Emperor Constantine X, lived from time to time on his Bithynian property, when he risked arrest in Constantinople. He nevertheless remained in touch with the capital, and could thus be informed about what was happening there and return within a few days. The Skleros family followed the same trajectory. While the old Bardas Skleros, pardoned by Basil II, ended his days in Didymoteichos soon afterwards, far away from his lands, his son Romanos lived close to the Emperor. The latter’s grandson, also Romanos Skleros, one of

²⁶ *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Said d’Antioche, Continueur de Said-ibn-Bitriq*, vol. III, ed. I. Kratchosky, trans. and comm. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, PO 47, fasc. 4 (Turnhout, 1997), 464–6.

²⁷ *Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. and trans. P. Gautier, CFHB 9 (Brussels, 1975), 197: when Alexios Komnenos was campaigning against Roussel de Bailleul in the Pontus region and came to Kastamon, he visited the empty house of his grandfather. Alexios thus indirectly confirms that his parents never lived in Kastamon.

the favourites of Constantine IX Monomachos, stayed at the court when not nominated for high military office in the provinces, such as the duchy of Antioch. Throughout the eleventh century, the chroniclers note that one or another general, once his mission was accomplished, returned to the emperor's side.

THE 'MACEDONIAN' FAMILIES

There is one exception to this rule. Basil II does not appear to have objected to the maintenance outside Constantinople, at Adrianople, of a series of aristocratic families, whose behaviour was not immune from criticism; for example, there was the Batatzes who was inclined to support tsar Samuel of Bulgaria, when the latter advanced as far as Adrianople.²⁸ The Batatzai, Tornikioi, and Bryennioi maintained their presence in this town, which was not without consequences since dangerous rebellions took place under their leadership, like those of Leo Tornikios in 1047 and Nikephoros Bryennios in 1077–8, an attempt led by another Bryennios having failed prematurely in 1056. Basil II never faced serious internal trouble from the west and he doubtless thought it easy to keep himself informed of what was happening in Adrianople, given its relative proximity to the capital. This meant that the leading families of Adrianople could reach the imperial palace in a few days and be kept informed of important events in the capital.²⁹

THE POLICIES OF BASIL II'S SUCCESSORS

This imperial policy designed to minimize the danger of rebellion in the provinces was continued by Basil II's successors, especially as (unlike their predecessors, the great military emperors) they hardly left the palace, with the exceptions of Isaac Komnenos and Romanos Diogenes, both of whose reigns were short, and, to a lesser extent, of Romanos Argyros and Michael IV. In 1056, on the accession of Michael VI, the generals in post in the provinces

²⁸ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin–New York, 1973), 343.

²⁹ The western aristocracy was already well represented at the court in Constantinople in the tenth century, even if the lineages of individual families did not have the same prestige as those of Asia Minor. Cf. J.-C. Cheynet, 'L'aristocratie byzantine des Balkans et Constantinople (x^e–xii^e siècle)', to be published in *TM* 22.1 (2018), 457–459.

came to demand in person the promotion and largesse usually bestowed at the beginning of a reign, because it was in Constantinople that everything was decided.³⁰ This concentration of power in the capital was viewed as a way of enhancing the emperor's authority by tightening his control over the elite of the officer corps. Hence the successors of Basil II and Constantine VIII were keen to maintain or even reinforce this trend.

THE SITUATION IN THE PROVINCES

There were, however, some great personages in the provinces, such as those in disgrace as noted above, or the retired, like Katakalon Kekaumenos, who returned to Koloneia to end his days there in the reign of Constantine Doukas or, less probably, one of his successors.³¹ The fact that some aristocrats deliberately chose to live away from the capital must also not be forgotten. Thus Theodore Dokeianos, probably a first cousin of Alexios Komnenos, lived in Paphlagonia, even though the region was already under threat from the Turks.³² It does not seem that he was exiled there; but perhaps he had a command.³³

The pull of Constantinople over the military elite, whether they went of their own accord or were drawn there by government, had consequences. The first was a deterioration in the links between the military and the provinces, which weakened local defence, since the natural leaders likely to galvanize resistance were no longer there. This hypothesis can be tested by the counter-example of Philaretos Brachamios, who, although his leadership was not uncontested, was able to keep a group of provinces out of the clutches of the Turks for a long time.³⁴

³⁰ Psellos refers to the 'distribution of titles with more pomp than was appropriate' to the Constantinopolitans. This incited the generals to appear before the ruler, who gave them short shrift (*Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, Millennium Studien 51 (Berlin, 2014), 207–8).

³¹ *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexler, II (Milan, 1941), vol. 59, 91–2.

³² Bryennios, 195, who refers to him as a mere individual.

³³ There is room for doubt. If Theodore Dokeianos took the name of his mother, a sister of Isaac Komnenos, numerous seals of Theodore Komnenos, duke of Paphlagonia, must be attributed to him; he obtained a splendid succession of titles, from *magistros* to *sebastos*, while in that post—which implies that he held it for a long time or returned to take it up again on several occasions (*Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève*, ed. M. Campagnolo-Pothitou and J.-C. Cheynet (Geneva, 2016), no. 149).

³⁴ On Philaretos Brachamios, see most recently, J.-C. Cheynet, *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux*, Bilans de recherche 3 (Paris, 2008), 390–410; W. Seibt, 'Philaretos Brachamios—General, Rebel, Vassal?', in *Captain and Scholar: Papers in Memory of D.I. Polemis*, ed. E. Chrysos and E. Zachariadou (Andros, 2009), 281–95.

THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE CIVILIANS
AND THE MILITARY

Second, a larger number of future officers and their families lived in Constantinople, and some of them were educated there. The Komnenoi were not provincials who despised or misunderstood Constantinopolitans, as some would have us believe. Living alongside high civil officials in the same city, meeting them in the palace, they were readier to contemplate marriage alliances with families which were often rich and had good connections with the *basileus*. This intermingling of the two groups in Constantinople explains the proliferation of alliances between families of civilian and military tradition. It also smoothed the path of former military officers towards the new, lucrative financial positions which were being handed out in Constantinople. This would explain the large number of 'metamorphic' families, to quote Alexander Kazhdan.³⁵

As has been noted for some time, the opposition between the *politikon genos* and the *stratotikon genos* is not pertinent when trying to understand the struggle for imperial power in the eleventh century because, while family strategies did indeed favour one or other kind of function, alliances were formed between the two sorts of families. These links were frequently strengthened by marriages, which resulted in a mixture of civil servants and army officers within the same family.³⁶

The successors of Basil II claimed continuity from the great emperor and pursued his policies for different reasons. Basil II had more or less forced the great aristocratic families to settle in Constantinople. His successors, whose legitimacy was not assured, since they did not belong to the Macedonian dynasty, sought as much as possible to keep potential challengers close to them, so as to have more control over them and to build up networks of supporters to strengthen their still shaky powerbase.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE SENATE FROM
CONSTANTINE MONOMACHOS ONWARDS

A further transformation, which has long been emphasized, concerns the opening up of the Senate brought about by Constantine Monomachos and Constantine X Doukas. The civilian aristocracy had access to the Senate

³⁵ Kazhdan and Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina*, 269–80.

³⁶ J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance: 963–1210*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 9 (Paris, 1990), 191–8; this theme was taken up by Ch. Sifonas, 'Basile II et l'aristocratie byzantine', *Byzantion* 64 (1994), 118–33.

through the dignities it obtained but we should note that, in the tenth century and even up to the reign of Constantine Monomachos in the first half of the eleventh century, the title of *protospatharios*, the first title to give access to the Senate, was still only rarely given to civil servants. Theme judges, even though they had become the principal officials in the themes and had for the most part come from the bureaucratic elite, were often mere *spatharokandidatoi*, unless they belonged to especially grand families.³⁷ In addition, the Senate regained some prestige in the eleventh century, because of problems over the succession of some emperors (like Constantine X) and became more than a simple chamber for consultation. So its composition was not a matter of indifference for emperors.

THE POSITION OF MICHAEL PSELLOS

This opening up of the Senate was the subject of discussion among contemporaries. Foremost among them was Michael Psellos, who, through his extensive and brilliant literary output, has shaped our view of his century. As both historian and high-ranking imperial official, he had two modes of writing, laudatory in his speeches in the presence of emperors and critical in his *Chronographia*.³⁸ He disapproved of rapid ascents to power, when he (although he had nothing to complain about), after his lengthy studies, had to spend many years in obscure offices before Constantine Monomachos promoted him to the highest rank in his court. High officials developed a metropolitan attitude, a form of snobbery fostered by a privileged access to culture. We must therefore exercise some caution when reading Psellos's analysis of the evolution of the *politikon genos* and the opening up of the Senate.

POPULAR INTERVENTION IN THE POWER GAME

The 'people' of Constantinople intervened several times in the political life of the Empire, their riots on one occasion removing the sitting emperor, Michael V, and several times shaking the foundations of Constantine Monomachos' power. This irruption of the crowd into the political arena above all testifies to the

³⁷ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle', *Byzantion* 53 (1983), 453–77, at 468, reprinted in *idem*, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, no. VI.

³⁸ *Michaelis Pselli Orationes panegyricae*, ed. G. Dennis (Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1994), 5–6, and S. Luthi, 'Michel Psellos, *Panegyrique* I: traduction princeps et commentaire', *Byzantion* 77 (2007), 509; Psellos, *Chronographia*, 119–20.

demographic growth of the city and its economic expansion, and recalls the proto-Byzantine period, when disturbances orchestrated by the demes on race days in the hippodrome troubled the authorities on several occasions.

What was the composition of the 'people', whose reactions the chroniclers report with suspicion or even hostility, seeing in them only the dregs of the *agora* or, the 'dangerous classes', as one would have said in the nineteenth century? It is true that in the course of riots there was a tendency to pillage the *oikoi* of the most prominent Constantinopolitans.

A VERY HETEROGENEOUS POPULATION

The mass of the population was not homogeneous, either in its composition or in its material resources. Most of the officials serving in the imperial and patriarchal bureaucracies and junior palace personnel may be assigned to it. Merchants and artisans constituted a key group in the capital, comprising individuals of very different status but infused with a certain solidarity because of their membership of trade associations. The study of the trades involved in silk production has highlighted the contrast between poor spinners and rich international silk merchants, whose fortunes were doubtless on a par with those of great aristocrats, save for those with access to the throne.³⁹

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Accumulation of wealth appears to have become a general obsession. The desire to acquire riches is not new, but for the great provincial aristocratic families of the tenth century, wealth was primarily an instrument of political power designed to benefit the entire group of family and friends. The most successful way of acquiring it was through military service. This remained true in the eleventh century, but financial success too, on the part of an individual or his immediate family, was celebrated. This calls to mind the famous remark of Maios, an official who was cousin of Kekaumenos, author of *Advice and Anecdotes*, à propos of the sumptuous palaces which could be acquired through fiscal *douleiai*.⁴⁰

These lucrative returns came chiefly from the financial posts which proliferated when the fiscal administration was transformed at the turn of

³⁹ M. Kaplan, 'Du cocon au vêtement de soie: concurrence et concentration dans l'artisanat de la soie à Constantinople aux x^e-xi^e siècles', *EUPSYCHIA, Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, Byzantina Sorbonensia* 16 (Paris, 1998), 313-27.

⁴⁰ *Cecaumeni consilia, Cecaumeni consilia et narrationes*, ed. and trans. G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972) 194-6.

the tenth to the eleventh century. Within the traditional tax framework based on villages occupied by free peasants, tax was levied by the officials of the *Genikon* who received a comfortable *roga*, supplemented by *sportulae* (tips). This did not lead to spectacularly fast enrichment. The new tax regime, which was based on estates of the fisc, comprising crown lands, confiscated fortunes, and extensive *curatoriai* formed at the time of the great conquests of the second half of the tenth century mainly in the east, offered better opportunities for those bold enough to set about raising revenue from these great assemblages of fiscal lands. Basil the Parakoimomenos, who had done so to an indecent extent,⁴¹ was eventually given the same punishment as those who later followed the same path to corruption on a grand scale, namely confiscation of his huge fortune.⁴² The first holders of these posts were often local people, the intention being to win them over by linking their financial and social interests to the maintenance of Byzantine authority.⁴³ But after a few generations, it was the Greeks, most of them coming from the capital, who replaced them, as a glance at the lists of curators from Tarsos, Seleucia, Antioch, and Mytilene shows.⁴⁴ The same approach, but differently modulated, was adopted towards to the patriarchate of Antioch.⁴⁵

THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE NEW POSTS

Once again, prosopography compensates for the lack of documents. A large enough number of seals belonging to the managers of the public estates—curators, *pronoetai*, *episkeptitai*, and so on—has survived for us to draw valid conclusions from them. The titles which feature on these seals reveal the important role played by palace eunuchs in the management of the great *oikoi* of Constantinople, while heritable names point to the high status of the civilian aristocratic families of Constantinople.⁴⁶ There were several distinct groups among those who obtained these posts:

- grand families, some of whose members came from military families which had converted to a civilian mode of life, such as the Xeroi, Skleroi, Chrysobergai, Chalkoutzai, and so on.

⁴¹ Skylitzes, 311–12. ⁴² Skylitzes, 335; Psellos, *Chronographia*, 11–13.

⁴³ See the detailed analysis of Holmes, *Basil II*, 372–91.

⁴⁴ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les gestionnaires des biens impériaux: étude sociale', *Mélanges Cécile Morisson*, *TM* 16 (2011), 163–204.

⁴⁵ K.-P. Todt, 'The Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the Period of the Renewed Byzantine Rule and in the Time of the First Crusades', *History of the Antiochian Greek Orthodox Church. What Specificity?* (Balamand, 1999), 33–53, reprinted in K.-P. Todt and B.A. Vest, *Syria (Syria prôtè, Syria Deutera, Syria Euphratèsia)*, *TIB* 15 (Vienna, 2014), 349–61.

⁴⁶ For an analysis of most of these families, see Kazhdan and Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina*.

- families whose names indicate that they were of provincial origin but had probably settled in Constantinople.
- finally, other names refer to areas of Constantinople or its immediate surroundings, showing that a new social class was growing up within the administration. I have indeed noted a proliferation of names in Hagio-, which I believe refer to neighbourhoods named after their churches.⁴⁷

THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE MANAGERS

As a result, the interest of all the beneficiaries of these fiscal posts lay in multiplying them. One of the easiest ways of doing so, in theory at least, was to continue expanding the territory of the Empire into rich regions. This could explain why emperors such as Romanos III Argyros and Constantine IX Monomachos, whose careers before their accession to the throne had nothing to do with military activity, were in favour of expanding the Empire. Romanos III Argyros annexed Edessa and wanted to retake Aleppo, which not long before had been under the economic domination of the Empire. Constantine Monomachos annexed the kingdom of Ani and transformed benefits in kind into financial resources. Even the establishment of the Pechenegs on abandoned land in the same reign was designed to increase the amount of tax levied.⁴⁸ Indeed, it was apparently the harshness of the tax collectors that was the major cause of the Pechenegs' revolt.

It is true that Basil II's successors needed military glory to secure their hold on power, but conquests would also open the way to creating lucrative new posts and thereby building up nexuses of indebted supporters. The idea of conquering the rich island of Sicily, already planned by Basil II and undertaken under Michael IV, fits in this perspective.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les noms des fonctionnaires civils appartenant aux familles de Constantinople durant les 11e et 12e siècles d'après la sigillographie,' *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* (Istanbul, 2010), 164–77, at, 167–77.

⁴⁸ Skylitzes, 459.

⁴⁹ Catherine Holmes prefers to see in this expansionism the desire of the military to gain wealth through conquest (*Basil II*, 534–5). This aspect is incontrovertible: victory in a military campaign encouraged the army, spurred on by receiving booty to seek new victories. The booty, however, was often quite meagre and acquired on a single occasion. The two rescue campaigns in the duchy of Antioch were defensive and the second campaign ended with failure at Tripoli in Syria. The expedition against the Georgians probably produced little gain, apart from prisoners sold into slavery. Admittedly the capture of the treasure of the toughest enemy, Samuel of Bulgaria, resulted in one hundred *kentenaria* of gold (Skylitzes, 359), but this surely did not cover the cost of all the campaigns against Samuel undertaken over more than twenty years.

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LINKS BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE BUREAUCRACY

Such a policy reinforced the links which part of the army had with the Constantinopolitan aristocracy. Besides, the Komnenoi, Skleroi, and Botaneitai spent part of their careers under Monomachos, who promoted them.⁵⁰ Constantine Monomachos, credited with being a 'civilian' emperor because he had never himself led an army, instigated a remarkably large number of military expeditions, both in Europe and Asia.⁵¹

The conflict which broke out at the beginning of Michael VI's reign can be interpreted as a dispute over the distribution of the income generated by an expanded empire, since the principal complaint of the discontented officers concerned the largesse given to the Constantinopolitans, that is essentially to civil servants, while the aged emperor was neglecting the military stationed in the provinces.⁵²

CONSTANTINOPLE, THE CENTRE OF POWER STRUGGLES

In the tenth century, there was no shortage of *coups d'état*, most of which grew out of military unrest in the provinces. In the following century, the nieces of Basil II were unable to produce an heir, and this opened a new era in the competition for the crown. The rival clans had changed by then, notably because of the involvement of aristocrats with lands in the west. The main group, originally formed around Constantine Dalassenos, evolved as it incorporated the Komnenoi and Doukai. Unlike the Phokas or Skleroi in the previous century, these families associated themselves with other Constantinopolitan families, such as the Makrembolitai. As Alexander Kazhdan has rightly pointed out, these families, which held mostly civilian posts, were not without provincial connections and often came from western Asia Minor, the islands, or Hellas, regions which had, more than the rest of the Empire, long been able to avoid the vagaries of war.⁵³ Another new phenomenon: whereas the great revolts of Bardas Skleros, and Bardas Phokas had been fomented in the provinces, it was in Constantinople more often than not that rebellions

⁵⁰ Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 341–4.

⁵¹ On the military policies of this emperor, which were particularly active if not always successful, see most recently the very apt overview of recent works by Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, 184–213. See also N. Buchs, 'Le règne de Constantin IX Monomaque (1042–1055)' (PhD, Sorbonne, 2019), 459–534.

⁵² Skylitzes, 486–7.

⁵³ Kazhdan and Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture*, 65.

were planned after the death of Basil II. It was there that Isaac Komnenos and a few colleagues, Kekaumenos and Bryennios among them, formed the project of overthrowing Michael VI. The Komnenoi, who were army officers, lived in the capital unless their duties took them to the provinces. This was partly a consequence of Basil II's policy of raising young aristocrats, both Byzantines and foreigners, as much as possible in the Great Palace. Still we should not exaggerate the contrast between the tenth and eleventh centuries, given that under Basil II's predecessors provincials had always sought to have a relative or friend in Constantinople to represent their interests. Political life in the capital was therefore dominated by rival factions which took turns to govern. Basil II's old favourites, the Dalassenoi, Komnenoi, and Doukai, were ousted under the Paphlagonians and then came back in favour under Constantine Monomachos before being made less welcome by Theodora and Michael VI. Strengthened by complex marriage alliances contracted in the capital, this faction regained power after the 1057 military *coup d'état*, but then suffered from divisions under the Doukas emperors before reviving their alliance, for all sorts of ulterior motives, and installing themselves in power for the foreseeable future in 1081. Alexios Komnenos's conspiracy was devised at the imperial court and not in the provinces but it required the future emperor to bring an army into Constantinople, from Thrace.⁵⁴

A RENEWED POLITICAL CLASS?

Hélène Ahrweiler regards Constantinopolitan society as one with many new men, who formed networks by offering each other mutual *prostasia*.⁵⁵ Psellos' career illustrates this. Thanks to his letters, we know of his network of friends which included many judges, that is high-ranking officials like him. Most of the letters which deal with administrative matters make use of these personal connections. Psellos asks his friends in the judiciary for many favours, either for himself or for his relatives and even his 'friends'. In exchange, Psellos promises, when he is in a position to do so, to remind the emperor or his immediate entourage of the virtues of his correspondent.⁵⁶

The fashion for a second, heritable name, which probably developed later in Constantinople than in the provinces, allows us to know the second name of some of these judges. So we come across names like Mouchas, Ophrydas, or

⁵⁴ Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 337–57.

⁵⁵ Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 108–10.

⁵⁶ For example, Psellos's intervention concerning the bishop of Madytos (*Psellos, Mesaionike Bibliothekē...*, ed. K.N. Sathas (Venice, 1876), vol. V, 396–7). Cf. M. Jeffreys and M.D. Lauxtermann, eds, *The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford, 2017), 200–2.

Sagmatas, which were unknown previously. Can we infer that they are invariably new men?⁵⁷ Clearly, if the central administration grew in size as a result of the expansion of the Empire and the evolution of administrative practices, it needed to recruit more widely and call on the services of newcomers, an opening up which was aided by the expansion of the schools in Constantinople. Nonetheless, the study of personal names does not provide decisive answers. Family traditions of service in the state bureaucracy or in the church hierarchy are attested long before the eleventh century. The most frequently cited example is of the family of the patriarch Photios, to which one could add that of Monomachos.⁵⁸ It is therefore possible that the families to which these apparently new names were attached were already well established.

THE 'NEW MEN'

The renewal of the bureaucratic elite is evident though difficult to quantify. Success was achieved—if we except the arbitrary choice of a favourite of the emperor, who did not necessarily come from a modest background⁵⁹—through study, that is meritocratically, since birth was no longer a key criterion, something welcomed officially by Psellos in speeches vaunting Monomachos. Michael Psellos and Michael Attaleiates are good examples of this success gained through the higher education only available in Constantinople. It is impossible to tell what was the ratio between newcomers and

⁵⁷ The name of Ophrydas appears more than once. Several people living in the eleventh century bore it, including Basil (unpublished seal DO 55.1.3254), Michael, *vestes*, judge of the Velum and protonotary of the ephorate (N.P. Lichačev, *Molivdovuly Grečeskogo Vostoka*, ed. v.s. Šandrovskaja (Moscow, 1991), 164–5), and Theodore, *protospatharios*, judge at the Hippodrome (unpublished seal Zacos [BnF] 463), not counting the anonymous judge who was a colleague of Eustathios Romaïos at the tribunal of the great *droungarios* (J. and P. Zepos, ed., *Jus Graecoromanum*, 8 vols (Athens, 1931), IV, 16.9, 19.5, 51.16; N. Oikonomides, 'The "Peira" of Eustathios Romaïos: An Abortive Attempt to Innovate in Byzantine Law', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), 175, reprinted in *idem*, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1992), vol. XI). The name of Sagmatas, given to a *synkellos* and protonotary of the *dromos* and correspondent of Psellos (KD II, 291), is found in the list of signatories of the Theban confraternity (J. Nesbitt and J.-J. Wiita, 'A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era', *BZ* 68 (1975), 367).

⁵⁸ There is no study specifically dedicated to the Monomachos family. The first to bear this name was apparently a *strategos* in Sicily (M. Nichanian and V. Prigent, 'Les stratèges de Sicile. De la naissance du thème au règne de Léon V', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 61 (2003), 125), but, from the tenth century, Paul led embassies, notably to Aleppo (Skylitzes, 241).

⁵⁹ Romanos Boïlas, a court jester whose jokes amused the Emperor Constantine Monomachos beyond the bounds of decency (Psellos, *Chronographia*, 169–73), had a name of quite illustrious Slavic origin. The first known Boïlas, Constantine, was promoted to the rank of patrician by the empress Irene (*Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883–85), vol. I, 474).

members of established families. But it is worth noting that our two historians, who were both judges, failed to pass on the considerable social capital that they had acquired to their heirs. Psellos, who praises Monomachos for breaking the shackles of inheritance, is thus partly right, but the little information which we have shows the continuing effectiveness of family influence for securing posts in a particular branch of government.⁶⁰

There are two occasions, in the second half of the eleventh century and at the end of the twelfth century (up to 1204), when we have a richer documentation than usual, thanks to the archives of Patmos and Mount Athos, and can learn about many officials in the capital's bureaucracy.⁶¹ While a marked renewal in personnel is documented, it is also clear that some at least of the names of judges and high officials at the time of Alexios Angelos were already in use in the preceding century. Moreover, names which appear to be new in these archival documents, such as the Sgouroi or Autoreianoi,⁶² are shown by seals to have been in use before the eleventh century.

Previously unknown names appeared in the administration in the course of the twelfth century: for example, Hagiotheodorites and Choniates, whose bearers reached the highest positions, such as logothete of the *sekreta* in the case of Niketas Choniates, who has left us a history of the Komnenoi after Alexios I and of the Angeloi.⁶³ Niketas and his brother Michael, future metropolitan of Athens, have a profile that is very similar to that of Michael Attaleiates. They were brilliant, highly intelligent subjects, who came from provincial towns to study in Constantinople and had distinguished careers there. In both cases, they had no heirs who might have achieved prominence, but admittedly the year 1204 played havoc with future plans, as Niketas tells us.

In this respect, it should be noted that the arrival of the Komnenoi, seen as a return to pre-eminence of the provincial military aristocracy which then

⁶⁰ The lists of officials who validated the imperial documents in favour of the monastery of St John of Patmos in the reign of Alexios Komnenos confirms this: *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. Α', Αὐτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. Vranoussi (Athens, 1980), nos 48 and 49.

⁶¹ In addition to the Patmos documents already mentioned, let us also cite the 1196 trial of the monastery of Lavra about a tax on wine (*Actes de Lavra. I, Des origines à 1204*, diplomatic edition by P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, and N. Svoronos, in collaboration with D. Papachryssanthou, *Archives de l'Athos* 5 (Paris, 1970), nos 67 and 68) and a similar dossier for Patmos (*Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. Β', Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν*, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980), vols 56, 59, 60).

⁶² The *protospatharios* Symeon Sgouros is known from a seal datable to the second half of the tenth century (Ch. Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen*, *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 4 (Wiesbaden, 2000), no. 229; in the same period, Michael Autoreianos was a *spatharokandidatos* (N. and W. Seibt, 'Siegel der Sammlung Orghidan—eine Nachlese zur Edition V. Laurents', *JÖB* 53 (2003), 197).

⁶³ A brief summary of the career of Niketas can be found in the introduction to the Italian edition of his *History: Niceta Coniata, Grandezza e Catastrofe di Bisanzio (Narrazione cronologica)* 1. Libri I–VIII, introd. A. Kazhdan, ed. R. Maisano, trans. A. Pontani (Milan, 1994), xii–xiii.

privatizes imperial power,⁶⁴ did not change the way people were promoted. It remained possible for a gifted subject to enter the bureaucracy, albeit without always reaching the highest echelons, which were reserved for members of the imperial family. They preferred, though, senior military posts. No Komnenos was ever logothete of the *dromos*, as Leo Phokas had been during the reign of his brother Nikephoros.⁶⁵

INDIVIDUAL DESTINIES AND COLLECTIVE FATE

The administrative elite of the eleventh century was haunted by a feeling of instability.⁶⁶ Michael Attaleiates gives us a long eulogy of a decree issued by Nikephoros III Botaneiates which was intended to end malpractice by ensuring that former post-holders had enough to live decently. He refers to the fact that officials cast aside by a new ruler without having proved unworthy or simply because they had reached retirement age lost all means of subsistence because the emperor, intent on providing for his own, took back all the property the rental of which made up the income of the discharged official.⁶⁷

A change of emperor often meant that posts were redistributed and previous incumbents were made redundant without compensation. It is true that imperial instability reached its peak between the time of the death of Basil II and the accession of Alexios Komnenos, with ten emperors in just over half a century, but it was more apparent than real: the personnel who served Constantine Monomachos are largely identical to the civil servants who worked under Isaac Komnenos or Constantine X Doukas. The military was rather more affected by this rotation of posts than the civil bureaucrats. While a new emperor would replace departmental heads, lower-ranking civil servants assuredly remained in post. But Michael Attaleiates had been struck by the brutal way in which some all-powerful ministers, like Basil the

⁶⁴ P. Lemerle's point of view (*Cinq études*, 293–300) prevailed for a long time but his ferocious critique of Alexios Komnenos is not universally accepted (see the contributions of Smyrlis, Morrisson, Cheynet, Shepard, and Estangui Gomez and Kaplan, in Flusin and Cheynet, *Lemerle*).

⁶⁵ The information provided by Liutprand has now been confirmed by a seal of the second half of the tenth century, that of 'Niketas, imperial ostiarios and katepan of Leo's estates, kuropalate and logothete of the dromos', ed. G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, compiled by J.W. Nesbitt (Bern, 1985), no. 1081.

⁶⁶ The judge Christophoros Mitylenaios, who was alive during the first half of the century, left a poem on this theme written in the first few years of the reign of Constantine Monomachos (*Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), K 73).

⁶⁷ L. Burgmann, 'A Law for Emperors: On a Chrysobull of Nikephoros Botaneiates', in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines, The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 247–57.

Parakoimomenos, John Orphanotrophos, or Nikephoritizes, fell from grace, and by the numerous confiscations carried out after the reign of Basil II. These setbacks had a greater impact on a family when only its head occupied a pre-eminent position and other members did not have a fortune large enough to compensate for the discrediting of the main provider. Hence, in the case of Psellos, a powerful network of friends was not enough to guarantee stability, because the connections he had made were only as strong as his ability to repay the services rendered, through the favour he enjoyed with the sovereign. Psellos' fortune consisted of cash⁶⁸ and temporary properties, such as the monasteries he held in *charistike*.⁶⁹ A fall from grace would thus potentially lead to his ruin. On the other hand, post-holders who belonged to families with deep roots, like the Skleroi or the Kamateroi, quite often suffered reversals of fortune going as far as confiscation of their personal property, but this misfortune did not have an impact on the entire family because other branches retained good posts; such a situation explains why the Skleroi and the Kamateroi were still well represented under the Komnenoi.

To sum up this aspect, the Constantinopolitan bureaucracy was recruited from among already well-established families, some with a tradition of military service; in addition, there was a constant influx of well-educated men, their education being their passport to high office. Some of them managed to introduce their children or nephews into the great offices they served in, while others failed.

THE 'PEOPLE OF THE AGORA'

While the political elite now overwhelmingly resided in the capital, it constituted a very small part of the population. The 'people of the agora', on the other hand, formed a demographically important and influential group. The commentators of the time state that they were the main beneficiaries of the opening up of the Senate, emperors being keen to retain their support for fear of trouble in the city. Admittedly, it is very difficult to test whether this was true. Psellos, when he wants to show his disdain, has a tendency to ascribe a modest background to his victims, describing them as 'from the gutter'.⁷⁰ In this particular case it was Boilas, but it could have applied to the merchants and craftsmen's milieu. A little earlier, Christopher of Mitylene's poems show

⁶⁸ When his daughter became engaged, he lost much, losing all his investments in favour of his future son-in-law, Elpidios Kenchres (Psellos, *MB* V, 210–14).

⁶⁹ M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 10 (Paris, 1992), 565–8.

⁷⁰ Psellos, *Chronographia*, 169.

the low opinion he had of craftsmen because of their lack of culture and education.⁷¹

Sigillography, thanks to the study of eleventh-century seals which have survived in large numbers, enables us to analyse, through a still small but significant sample, the prosopography of the dignitaries. Yet, seals linking a title with a particular trade are very rare, unlike those which associate a title with a state function. The favours of emperors were directed primarily at middle-ranking civil servants.⁷²

CIVIL SERVANTS AND MERCHANTS

The divide between the ‘people of the agora’ and the elite of officialdom was not insurmountable. Ample proof is provided by the example of the ancestors of the poet John Tzetzes.⁷³ Apart from the poet’s family, no history of a family of merchants has survived. Nonetheless, in order to enter the imperial administration, it was necessary either to have a relative (or patron) employed there or to have a fortune large enough to cover the cost of expensive studies, a fact that leads us to look for such families in the sphere of the agora. In addition, many a name within the new administrative families is a trade name.⁷⁴ Caution, however, is needed: Michael Keroularios’s father was not a seller of candles since one of his ancestors, an army officer, had fought against the Hamdanid Sayf al-Dawla.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig, 1903), nos 62–4. On the contribution of Christophoros Mitylenaios’s poems to our perception of Constantinopolitan society, see N. Oikonomides, ‘Life and Society in the Eleventh Century Constantinople’, *Südost-Forschungen* 49 (1990), 1–14, reprinted in *idem*, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Aldershot, 2004), vol. XXI.

⁷² Cheynet, ‘Noms des fonctionnaires civils’, 164–77.

⁷³ P. Gautier, ‘La curieuse ascendance de Jean Tzétzès’, *REB* 28 (1970), 207–20. The poet claimed to descend from the empress Eudokia on his mother’s side. His paternal grandfather was illiterate but very rich and entertained indigent writers at his table. His father was given a good education and made sure that his son had one too. It is clear then that for John Tzetzes, as for Christopher of Mitylene, it was educational attainment rather than wealth which made it possible to ascend the social order.

⁷⁴ On the links between merchants and officials, which were probably permanent and which can be detected in any case before the eleventh century, see J.-C. Cheynet, ‘Le rôle de la bourgeoisie constantino-politaine: XIe/XIIe siècle’, *Zbornik Radova Viz.Inst.* 46 (2009), 99–100. Note a new seal that appeared at auction (Lanz Numismatik, sale 154 (11 and 12 June 2012), no. 613). It is a seal of Michael Zographos (the reading of Zogros is incorrect), *spatharokandidatos*, *asekretis*, and judge. It can be dated to the first half of the eleventh century and perhaps before Monomachos’ reign, which suggests that this emperor increased the speed of a process that was already in train.

⁷⁵ S. Lambros, *Néος Έλληνομνήμων* 16 (1922), 45.

A look at the patriarchal administration suggests, according to a poem by Christopher of Mitylene, that the clergy of the most prestigious church in the capital, Saint Sophia, was also recruited from the merchant and artisan milieu, which led the author to criticize the clerics for their lack of culture.⁷⁶

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE KOMNENOI

There is nothing to prove a fundamentally hostile attitude on the part of Alexios Komnenos towards the new families. The pillaging of Constantinople in April 1081 was carried out by undisciplined and badly paid troops. Admittedly, the chrysobull of 1082 favoured the merchants of Venice, but its main purpose was to procure an instantly operational fleet; its long-term economic consequences, harmful to Constantinopolitan merchants who were not partnered with Venetians, had not been well thought out. Alexios's decision was in line with Basil II's chrysobull.⁷⁷

We shall see that the collapse of the Byzantine coinage, under Nikephoros Botaneiates and in the first decade of the reign of Alexios, had far worse consequences since it caused the quasi-bankruptcy of the state, thereby writing off its debt at the expense of its creditors, the merchants of the capital. The restoration of a healthy currency, on the other hand, served their interests. In any case, the Komnenoi needed to be assured of the capital's loyalty, obliged as they often were to leave it for long sojourns in the provinces since they had to lead numerous military campaigns. Emperors therefore needed to make sure that the inhabitants of Constantinople who were in a position to influence public opinion, the 'people of the agora', were happy.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE MERCHANTS AND CRAFTSMEN IN THE FISCAL AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUITS

Those principally responsible for monetary flows, besides the state and the crown, were (1) the *powerful* (to use the terminology of the time), namely great landowners, army officers, and bureaucrats; (2) merchants and craftsmen, the richest among them established in Constantinople; and finally (3) the

⁷⁶ *Christophoros Mitylenaios*, no. 63.

⁷⁷ This is the well-argued position of M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 2985), 591. The volume of trade by the Latins in Constantinople remained quite modest, though growing, all through the twelfth century (pp. 593-8).

peasantry, the principal taxable mass. Foreigners, at least foreign merchants, paid the *kommerkion* until some of them gained partial exemption.

Much of the largest portion of tax revenue was raised from the peasantry, either directly from free peasants or indirectly via landowners who passed on the tax which was included in the rent paid by their *paroikoi* for the land they cultivated. It should be noted that free peasants survived in larger numbers in the eleventh century than previously thought, especially as many *paroikoi* had property of their own, usually vineyards and gardens. This revenue did not remain in the state's coffers, save in rare cases when reserves were being built up, as in the time of Basil II. It was mainly spent on the army, on the salaries of other agents of the state, and on the *roga* of title-holders. The principal role of the state in monetary circulation was as extractor and dispenser of revenue from the land tax.

The wealth of merchants and craftsmen increased substantially with the development of trade and artisan production, even though we cannot quantify it. In the absence of statistics, we can measure this growth indirectly by assessing the magnificence and abundance of gifts that the emperors gave foreign rulers, including Fatimid caliphs and various Muslim princes.⁷⁸ The burden of tax that fell on merchants remains difficult to evaluate, due to lack of sources.⁷⁹ The indirect taxes, that is the *kommerkion* and various other port dues, were ultimately paid by the client. Unlike the peasants who paid most of their surplus income (after what was need for subsistence and planting) to tax collectors, the richest merchants and craftsmen were able to amass quickly a relatively large capital if their business flourished. Considerable untaxed wealth could doubtless be accumulated by this social group.

The sale of dignities made it possible to recirculate cash which was likely otherwise to be saved. It is interesting to note that the first attested sale of dignitary titles, reportedly for financial reasons, took place under Leo VI, at a time of economic recovery as well as military commitment.⁸⁰ In the eleventh century, the sale of dignities on a large scale made it possible to recover cash accumulated in commercial transactions. This new pattern of inflow and outflow supplemented the traditional system of monetary circulation, between peasant and state and then between the state, on the one hand, and army officers (now normally resident in the capital when not in post on the frontiers) and other officials, on the other hand. These last spent a large proportion of their income at home, thus opening up another irrigation channel: their money went to the merchants and producers of luxury goods, which they returned to the

⁷⁸ N. Oikonomides, 'Title and Income at the Byzantine Court', in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 207–8, reprinted in *idem*, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2004), no. 17.

⁷⁹ Oikonomides, *EHB*, 1007–8.

⁸⁰ It refers to the cleric Ktenas (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, CFHB 1 (Washington, D.C., 1967, 2nd ed.), c.50, 244).

state by buying dignities. Expenditure by the elite also enriched the foreign merchants who were allowed to trade within the Empire, but this loss was partly compensated by the *kommerkion* paid on the merchandise they sold as well as the luxury goods they bought and took back home.

Constantinople thus played a role, albeit a secondary one compared to the mass of fiscal revenue from the provinces, in balancing the budget. This grew in importance in the second half of the eleventh century, when part of the revenue from the provinces was lost. The richest merchants and craftsmen were invited to buy dignities, all the more so because the public treasury was in deficit from the middle of the century. Let us recall something which has been stressed on numerous occasions, that the income from investment in a dignity went down between the tenth and the eleventh century,⁸¹ a sign that emperors easily found buyers and that cash was abundant. Dignities were sold on a yet larger scale with the passing decades, while at the same time, emperors made use of a second fiscal instrument to hand, devaluation of the coinage. This second measure eased the burden of paying out the *rogai* which remained fixed in terms of their nominal value but lost real value in terms of their weight in gold. Thus, a Constantinopolitan who had bought the title of *protospatharios* under Constantine X Doukas received a pound of gold in *nomismata* which still contained 70 per cent of gold, that is 230g of gold. Under Nikephoros Botaneiates, less than twenty years later, the proportion of gold in the *nomisma* had halved, so that the pound paid out only contained 135g of gold.

But devaluation also undermined the sale of dignities. This helps explain why Michael Attaleiates praised Nicephoros Botaneiates when the latter conferred on his friends not the title immediately above the one they held but pushed them up several ranks in a single promotion. Attaleiates was referring to grants of dignities, but the same was probably true of their sale. We should note the many seals dating from the last third of the eleventh century owned by men with a title between that of *proedros* and *kouropalates*.

Psellos's accusation that Constantine IX 'had caused confusion' is justified.⁸² This criticism concerned merchants and craftsmen who bought senatorial titles. Psellos criticizes a system which allowed rich people to obtain higher and higher titles thus bypassing the normal procedure of gradual promotion which no doubt took longer and which was the lot of civil servants. It is striking that only very few merchants' seals bear a court title.⁸³ This is not to suggest that it was rare for merchants to obtain such titles, but that it was primarily an investment; the beneficiaries did not judge it useful to engrave

⁸¹ P. Lemerle, '“Roga” et rente d'État aux X^e-XI^e siècles', *REB* 25 (1967), 89-90, reprinted in *Le monde de Byzance: Histoire et institutions* (London, 1978), no. 15.

⁸² Psellos, *Chronographia*, 119.

⁸³ Examples are given in Cheynet, 'Rôle de la bourgeoisie', 95.

seals with the dignity recorded, because, unlike civil servants, they had no use for them in their business.

In practice, emperors and their financial advisers had a policy of monetary expansion. There were two distinct reasons for this, as Cécile Morrison has pointed out—on the one hand a need to increase the money supply in the wake of economic growth, on the other increased expenditure on a large body of professional soldiers.⁸⁴

There was a serious drawback to this selling of dignities on a large scale by emperors, notably Constantine X Doukas, namely the need to pay out ever increasing sums in *rogai*. This made it necessary to sell new honours to cover the cost of paying old *rogai*, in what was in effect a grand pyramid scheme, new borrowing serving mainly to pay the interest on older debts.

Already in 1055, the Empress Theodora excused herself from the customary distribution of largesse on the grounds that her accession had occurred long before, at her father's death.⁸⁵ The only emperor who seriously tried to restrain these spiralling expenses was Isaac I Komnenos, who reduced the *rogai* and cancelled various costly donations, notably to the monasteries. This policy, which benefited the public purse, was not popular and probably contributed to Isaac's deposition and replacement by Constantine Doukas.⁸⁶ The latter took great care in his accession speech to emphasize that he would do nothing to harm the interests of the capital's population.⁸⁷ In reality, the debasement of the coinage, which was eroding the value of the *rogai*, halted for a while under this emperor, resuming under his son Michael VII who was powerless to prevent it. Finally Nikephoros III Botaneiates sold yet more dignities in the hope of winning allies in the capital and, according to the biased view of Michael Attaleiates, even gave them out in a prodigal manner.⁸⁸ The state found itself unable to pay the *rogai* attached to these dignities,⁸⁹ at which the whole system failed.

Whatever the attitude of Alexios Komnenos and his close circle towards the merchants of the agora, the disastrous condition of the public finances, illustrated by the accelerating devaluation of the *nomisma*, made it impossible for the *basileus* to resume the regular payment of *rogai* because the little money that was available was needed to pay the army and the mercenaries intended to reinforce it. In the final analysis, merchants and artisans did not

⁸⁴ C. Morrison, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XI^e siècle: essai d'interprétation', *TM* 6 (1976), 3–47, reprinted in *eadem*, *Monnaie et finances à Byzance: analyses, techniques* (Aldershot, 1994), no. 9.

⁸⁵ Psellos, *Chronographia*, 197.

⁸⁶ *Michaelis Attaleiatai Historia*, ed. E.Th. Tsolakis, CFHB 50 (Athens, 2011), 55–6.

⁸⁷ Attaleiates, 56.

⁸⁸ Attaleiates contrasts Michael VII's parsimony to the generosity of his successor (*Historia*, 211).

⁸⁹ Nikephoros Bryennios, 257 and 259.

count for much in the evolving affairs of the Empire since they were not seen to play a key role in the choice of emperor, except in 1042, when a mutinous crowd supported Theodora against her sister Zoe. There was no real alliance between the civil aristocracy and the agora to break down under the Komnenoi.⁹⁰

After his defeat by the Normans at Dyrrachion in October 1081, Alexios was forced to have recourse to a further and last measure because the donation of valuables by his close kin was not enough: this was the confiscation, in principle temporary, of the church's treasure, an act which provoked serious opposition within its ranks.

It was essential to restore a certain budgetary balance as soon as the Empire's enemies were repelled and military operations could be scaled down. The new fiscal system put in place at the end of the eleventh century, known notably from the Lavra archives, was much criticized but could under certain conditions be of benefit to the state. In any case, there is nothing to suggest that the payment of *rogai* was generally reinstated.

All titles below *kouropalates* were progressively phased out,⁹¹ without it seems any form of compensation for earlier losses. When grants of extensive state revenues were made to those close to Alexios Komnenos, he told the beneficiaries to use their own men to raise the taxes and various dues granted. While the amount raised remained what had been before, the state no longer needed to employ *dioiketai* and other tax officials to carry out the work. This is precisely the time when these civil servants disappear from our sources. It is therefore highly likely that the tax administration of the twelfth century was drastically slimmed down compared to that of the previous century, and this not just because of territorial losses in Asia Minor. The recipients of grants are likely to have tried to offset the cost of tax collection by transferring the cost of their private administration on to the peasants, although they had no legal right to do so. Constantinople's upwardly mobile classes were apparently no longer asked to finance the Empire, at least not immediately after the fiscal collapse of the previous century. This was a consequence of the financial crisis affecting the state rather than a desire to lower the political status of rich merchants and craftsmen. The Asia Minor aristocracy, supposedly the chief

⁹⁰ Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 570–82 disagrees, but, when he summarizes the interventions of the guilds, it appears that, apart from the riots of 1042, their actions did not go beyond their usual role, which was to put the walls of the city under armed guard.

⁹¹ The permission given to Eudokia, wife of Stephanos Rasopoles, to sell part of her dowry for twenty-eight *hyperpyra* was justified by the extreme poverty of the family, even though the husband had the title of *protospatharios*, which formerly paid out a substantial *roga*, worth a pound of gold. Clearly he no longer gained anything from it save as a mark of a status, which by then was much reduced (*Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Archives de l'Athos 13 (Paris, 1984), no. 3 (1112)).

beneficiary of tenth-century social change, was in a much more critical state. It cannot therefore be claimed that ‘The balance of power changed from the eleventh century on . . . and in spite of the stubborn resistance of the bureaucracy and of the merchant class, the landlords won the day and the urban elements were beaten.’⁹²

The Komnenian century testifies to the success of the system that was set up. But in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the same factors, increasing threats on the frontiers and the loss of western provinces, by then vital for the prosperity of the Empire, created a budgetary imbalance which once again led to monetary devaluation and forced the rulers to resort to the same expedients, the mass selling of dignities and official posts. Alexios III Angelos even decided to confiscate the considerable property of one of the richest merchants of the time, knowing that there he would find the largest amount of cash.⁹³

This general picture of the way Constantinopolitan society evolved would not be complete if we left out the position of the foreigners.⁹⁴ There seem to have been relatively few changes in the eleventh century, since the capital had always welcomed (1) foreign merchants, who were all too happy to trade in one of the known world’s richest cities; (2) representatives of foreign powers coming to the *basileus*’ presence with their retinues; (3) soldiers coming to enrol in the *tagmata*; and finally (4) pilgrims coming to admire the finest collection of relics in Christendom. What changed was the growing number of visitors and the regions they came from. Latins, Italians in particular (who had never been entirely absent from the capital), arrived in great numbers to trade, to fight, and to stay in Constantinople on their way to Jerusalem.⁹⁵ Easterners, however, remained well established. Muslim princes came to submit to the emperor and receive grand honours in recompense.⁹⁶ Merchants from Muslim countries had not forsaken the markets of Constantinople.

In conclusion, although we lack direct evidence, Constantinopolitan society can be said to have developed slowly but steadily, as much, if not more, under the influence of demographic and economic forces as from the impact of the policies of the succession of emperors between Basil II and Alexios Komnenos. The rulers, including Basil II, always took care to conciliate the merchants and

⁹² A. Kazhdan and G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 13.

⁹³ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.A. Van Dieten, CFHB 9 (Berlin–New York, 1975), 523–4.

⁹⁴ For more information and references, see Cheynet, ‘Société urbaine’, 466–7.

⁹⁵ K.J. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 10 (Leiden–New York–Cologne, 1996).

⁹⁶ A. Beihammer, ‘Muslim Rulers Visiting the Imperial City: Building Alliances and Personal Networks between Constantinople and the Eastern Borderlands (Fourth/Tenth–Fifth/Eleventh Century)’, *Al Masāq* 24/2 (2012), 157–77.

craftsmen of their capital city. They were constrained both politically because this section of the population played a key role in shaping public opinion in the city, and economically because the wealth of their most enterprising subjects could be mobilized to secure the financing of ever-increasing state expenditure. From this perspective, neither the death of Basil II nor the accession to power of Alexios Komnenos had an immediate impact on society in the capital.

The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates

Dimitris Krallis

The eleventh-century historian Michael Attaleiates was no faceless annalist, no impersonal and impartial recorder of heterogeneous and disconnected facts. The story he tells is subjective and individual.

In 1984 Alexander Kazhdan opened his long treatise on ‘The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates’ with this unambiguous recognition of authorial agency. And yet, but one paragraph break later, he retreated from this bold assertion of individuality and noted,

The modern reader is faced with a problem: are Attaleiates’ views peculiarly his own, or are they typical of the views of some broader social group? Does Attaleiates merely articulate an arbitrary set of personal opinions on specific events, or do his attitudes reflect, in any way systematically, the interests, prejudices and aspirations of an identifiable section of Byzantine society?¹

The tension built into the opening lines of this most influential article on Michael Attaleiates’ worldview undermines Kazhdan’s own statement regarding Attaleiates’ authorial independence and integrates the medieval historian in a matrix of eleventh-century ideas and social relations compatible with the more conservative of Byzantinists’ assumptions and sensibilities.² Three decades or so later the scholarly presuppositions underpinning Kazhdan’s analysis have been shaken. Fine-grained social historical analysis and more

¹ A.P. Kazhdan, ‘The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates’, in *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, ed. *idem* and Simon Franklin (Paris, 1984), 23–86, here 23. References to Attaleiates’ *History* are to I. Pérez Martín, ed. and trans., *Miguel Ataliate: Historia* (Madrid, 2002) with the Bekker edition pages in parenthesis. Translated excerpts from the *History* are drawn from A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, trans., *Michael Attaleiates, The History* (Cambridge, MA, 2012).

² C. Mango, ‘Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror’, Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford (May 1974) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); A.P. Kazhdan, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1982) for two such examples.

refined views regarding the so-called civilian military divide have emerged,³ while the world of eleventh-century intellectuals is now shaped by fascinating rereadings of Michael Psellos, Ioannes Skylitzes, and of Byzantine Roman culture in general.⁴ Building on this body of work, I re-examine here *The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates* with an emphasis on Roman patriotism, economic self-interest, and Roman identity, all in the context of palpable imperial decline. The starting point for this analysis is the very opening of Attaleiates' work, where we learn that history writing was an aside to the judge's busy public career.⁵ This emphasis on public service, its antique and Byzantine textual genealogy notwithstanding, shifts our attention from the Kazhdanian obsession with self-interest and class identity to a more sensitive examination of Attaleiates' ideas about the polity he inhabited.⁶ It is the argument of this paper that we need to treat Attaleiates as Senator, *patrikios*, and heir to the long, though by no means static tradition of Roman governance if his ideas about Byzantine society are to make sense to us.

This paper is divided into three parts of unequal size that engage with different, interrelated aspects of Attaleiates' worldview. In the first part the judge's economic strategies and his views on governance challenge existing assumptions regarding Attaleiates' social and political affiliations and suggest that he displays a pragmatic conception of politics, focused on the effective protection of the empire's subjects. In the second part, Attaleiates' opinions about Rouselios and other Norman mercenaries in the empire's employ offer a glimpse into broader contemporary debates on the nature of Byzantine

³ J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990); W. Kaegi, 'The Controversy about the Bureaucratic and Military Factions', *BF* 19 (1993), 25–33; Sp. Vryonis Jr, 'Byzantine Imperial Authority: Theory and Practice in the Eleventh Century', in G. Makdisi, ed., *La notion d' autorité au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1985), 143 for a reassertion of the civilian–military divide theory; D. Krallis, 'Urbane Warriors: Smoothing out Tensions between Soldiers and Civilians in Attaleiates' Encomium to Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates', in M. Lauxterman and M. Whittow, eds, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between* (Oxford 2017), 154–68 on Byzantine generals as urbane citizens.

⁴ A.P. Kazhdan, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, CA, 1990) for a departure from earlier more rigid readings of Byzantine culture; A. Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia* (Leiden, 1999); *idem*, 'Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', in *Medieval Greek Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. Ch. Barber and D. Jenkins (Leiden, 2008), 1–44; and 'A Byzantine Argument for the Equivalence of All Religions: Michael Attaleiates on Ancient and Modern Romans', *IJCT* 14 (2007), 1–22; C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford, 2005) on Ioannes Skylitzes; F. Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081* (Oxford, 2014) and F. Bernard, 'Educational Networks in the Letters of Michael Psellos', in M. Jeffreys and M.D. Lauxtermann, eds, *The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford, 2017), 13–41 on eleventh-century intellectual circles.

⁵ Attaleiates, *History* 5.18–22 (Bekker 8); Attaleiates here draws on Agathias, *Histories* 3.1.

⁶ Other sources for this kind of introduction would be Leon Diakonos, *History* 1.1, on utility and on the preservation of great deeds for posterity; Hermann Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Munich, 1900), II, 23–4, for the possible influence of Diodoros.

society. The empire's ethnic composition was rapidly changing in the eleventh century, challenging traditional conceptions of *romanitas*.⁷ Mark Whittow addressed aspects of this problem when he treated the reign of Basil II as a watershed for significant decisions about the orientation of the Byzantine polity.⁸ It is essential that we revisit this yet unresolved issue as we try to understand Attaleiates' worldview. Finally, in the third part, Attaleiates' relations to tenants, courtiers, and emperors provide insights about the very human geography that shaped his social views.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Michael Attaleiates was born in or near Attaleia sometime around 1025.⁹ To his parents he credits his early education, which he completed before heading to the imperial capital in pursuit of advanced legal training. Between his arrival in the city, in the late 1030s, and the closing years of the 1060s—a time that coincides with the heyday of Michael Psellos' career—Attaleiates completed his studies in law and rose steadily, although not as fast as others, in the empire's justice system.¹⁰ While we cannot know if he benefited from Monomachos' legal reforms by training under the *nomophylax* Ioannes Xiphilinos, Attaleiates nevertheless came into Constantinople's cultural and social scene at a time which marked the apex of the judges' influence in Byzantine politics.¹¹ Attaleiates' training and the capital's sociocultural climate therefore

⁷ A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007), 74–82 and 'From Rome to New Rome, From Empire to Nation State: Reopening the Question of Byzantium's Roman Identity', in L. Grig and G. Kelly, eds, *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), 387–404 for *romanitas* in the middle Byzantine period; I. Stouraitis, 'Roman Identity in Byzantium: A Critical Approach', *BZ* 107.1 (2014), 175–220, engages with Kaldellis, seeking to counter his reading of Roman identity; A. Kaldellis, 'The Social Scope of Roman Identity in Byzantium: An Evidence-Based Approach', *Byzantina Symmeikta* 27 (2017), 173–210 for a convincing rebuttal of Stouraitis' position.

⁸ M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600–1025* (London, 1996), 374–90, here 390.

⁹ For this dating see Paul Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaleiate', *REB* 39 (1981), 12; E. Tsolakakis, 'Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates (Seine Heimatstadt, sein Geburts- und Todesjahr)', *BZ* 58 (1965), 3–10, here 5–7, for a later birth-date; Kazhdan, 'Attaleiates', 58 argued that he was a Constantinopolitan.

¹⁰ *Diataxis* 27.150–3; D. Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates and the Politics of Imperial Decline in Eleventh Century Byzantium* (Tempe, AZ, 2012), 4–16 on education and Psellos.

¹¹ Z.R. Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056* (Cambridge, 2017), 167 on the eleventh century as the apex of the judges' political authority and 162–78 on legal education in the eleventh century in general.

suggest that his lawyer's perspective would have inflected the *History's* take on politics in the Byzantine polity.¹²

Our judge joined the Constantinopolitan courts and the Senate shortly before or during the reign of Konstantinos X Doukas (1059–67) and by the time that emperor died he was of a high enough rank to sit at the trial for conspiracy of Romanos Diogenes.¹³ In the following months Romanos became emperor against all odds (1067–71) and Attaleiates joined his inner circle bearing the previously unattested title of 'judge of the army'.¹⁴ This was the beginning of four years of intense military activity to which the judge was partial witness, having accompanied three long imperial campaigns. His personal involvement in the planning and execution of Romanos' ambitious attempt to push back the Turks turned Attaleiates into a supporter of, and eventual apologist for, that emperor.¹⁵

After Romanos' efforts came to an inglorious end at the battle of Manzikert in the summer of 1071, possibly as a result of treason, Attaleiates returned to the capital and claimed his place in a new court order. A well-timed dedication of a treatise on law, the *Ponema Nomikon*, to Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–78) and loyal service even under duress secured his continued professional and social advancement.¹⁶ In this period of imperial retrenchment and political chaos, members of the Byzantine elite scoured the empire's political horizon for the man who would save the state. This search is reflected in the *History*, a forward-looking account of contemporary upheavals, which Attaleiates eventually dedicated to Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), the elderly general who toppled Michael VII. At the end of this work, sometime in the second year of Botaneiates' reign, we lose track of Attaleiates. He must not have outlived the rise of Alexios Komnenos for long, given that he had no

¹² A. Laiou, 'Law, Justice and Byzantine Historians: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries', in A. Laiou and D. Simon, eds, *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries. Proceedings of the Symposium on Law and Society in Byzantium, 9th–12th Centuries, May 1–3, 1992* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 151–85, here 177–81 for Attaleiates as a historian with a judge's perspective; A. Markopoulos, 'Roman Antiquarianism: Aspects of the Roman Past in the Middle Byzantine Period (9th–11th Centuries)', in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies. London, 21–26 August, 2006, I. Plenary Papers* (Aldershot–Burlington, 2006), 277–97 here 289–97 for the significance of the legal lens as a prism for the reading of eleventh-century Byzantine *romanitas*.

¹³ Attaleiates, *History* 74.18 (Bekker 98).

¹⁴ J. Haldon and C. Morrisson, 'The *krites tou stratopedou*: A New Office for a New Situation?', *TM* 14 (2002), 279–86.

¹⁵ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 81–100, 126–34 for Attaleiates' support for Romanos; E. Papaioannou, 'Remarks on Michael Attaleiates' *History*', in C. Gastgeber, C. Messis, D. Muresan, and F. Ronconi, eds, *Pour l'amour de Byzance: Hommage à Paolo Odorico* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), 155–73 develops the idea of Attaleiates as a martyr—in the sense of witness—to the martyrdom of Romanos Diogenes.

¹⁶ Attaleiates, *History* 177.22–178.13 (Bekker 246) on supporting the Doukai during Bryennios' rebellion; and *History* 180.14–16 (Bekker 249) on damage to his property in Raidestos as a consequence of his loyalty to the sitting emperor.

opportunity to rededicate the *History* to this young aristocrat who figures in the last part of his work as a truly effective military commander.

ECONOMIC AGENT AND POLITICAL THINKER

In the introduction to the *History* and in nodal points of his narrative, Attaleiates asserts that it is the actions of individuals that decide historical outcomes.¹⁷ Prudent administration of state affairs and patriotism lead to success, carelessness to failure.¹⁸ Given the significance of human agency in Attaleiates' worldview, it is not surprising that when the members of Nikephoros III Botaneiates' chancery address the author of the *History* with the rhetorical flourish of an imperial decree, they note that

Even a solid [edifice]...often needs a support, so that it may become stronger. For example, sometimes we support a trench with walls and encircle a city with a double circuit wall, and this procedure is not incompatible with [the concern for] perfection. Therefore the magistros has resolved on this circumspect and shrewd [procedure]. He decided to approach our majesty for confirmation, since he knew that an imperial decree, which confirms [a previous] decree has even greater weight.¹⁹

Attaleiates the economic agent, striving to protect his property from exacting fiscal agents, mirrors here the generals who defended the empire's cities against foreign threats. And yet, unlike the paranoid Kekaumenos, Kazhdan's eleventh-century Hobbesian stand-in for Byzantine Man, Attaleiates was prudent, though by no means conservative.²⁰ His portfolio of investments included farms, urban real estate, and grants of *charistike*, while his rental property in Constantinople speaks of dealings with a diverse group of volatile

¹⁷ Attaleiates, *History* 82.5–7 (Bekker 108) on the specific assessment of the role of individuals on the battlefield.

¹⁸ Attaleiates, *History* 5.7–12 (Bekker 7); for the significance of this see Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 115–20.

¹⁹ Attaleiates, *Diataxis* 111.1524–36:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῷ στερρῷ πολλάκις τοῦ ὑπερείσοντος, ὡς αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ δυναμικώτερον γένηται—καὶ τάφρον γὰρ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐνίοτε περιβάλλομεν καὶ τείχει διπλῶ τὴν πόλιν περιζωννύομεν, καὶ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν οὐκ ἀσυνάρτητον τὸ γινόμενον—, περισκεμμένον τι τοῦτο καὶ ἀγγίνουν ὁ μάγιστρος βουλευέται, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας εὐσέβειαν εἰς ἐπίκρισιν λαβεῖν βουλευσάμενος—ἥδει γὰρ ὡς μέγα τι χαρίζεται πρὸς ἰσχυροτέραν ῥοπήν ψήφους βασιλικῆ προσεπικυρούσα τὸ γεγονός.

The clerk compiling the chrysoboullon would have been the *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων*. Attaleiates was acquainted with at least one official in that position, Leon, who died at Manzikert: *History* 124.11 (Bekker 167). Translated text of the *Diataxis* from A.-M. Talbot's translation in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J.P. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), I, 326–76.

²⁰ Kazhdan, *People and Power* for the concept of *Homo Byzantinus*.

tenants.²¹ Furthermore, the operation of a bakery, which he leased to a private individual, was probably linked to a mill located within his city house and to grain supplies from his own lands in Thrace.²² This complex set of business arrangements was obviously exposed to the market and to competing economic interests, and yet Attaleiates appears comfortable with the risk inherent in such exposure. In the *History* he highlights the importance of unimpeded markets for economic prosperity, while his entrepreneurial spirit is perhaps best revealed in advice he inserted in the *Diataxis* for his son Theodore: 'if he is eager for more [money], let him do good work and strive hard to acquire additional property in good faith, having his own father as an example'.²³

The context wherein such economic activity was to unfold is provided in the opening pages of Attaleiates' synopsis of Roman law, the *Ponema Nomikon*. Here the judge outlines a twofold distinction that defines the Roman polity. On the one hand, human beings are either free or enslaved, while, on the other, goods are divided in two categories: public and private.²⁴ These dichotomies are set in the middle of the *Basilika*, the Greek translation and adaptation of Justinian's *Corpus* and the empire's foundational body of law. They are, however, intentionally moved by Attaleiates to the very first book of the *Ponema* and offer a sense of his broader vision of the Roman polity. Free social and economic agents operate in public and private spheres, with, as noted above, the least amount possible of economic hindrance. Furthermore, public goods—of which Attaleiates gives the example of stadia, theatres, and harbours—are collectively owned by the polity.²⁵ According to the prescription of the law code, citizens who are dedicated to their private interests, also lay collective claim on the public realm. Attaleiates' legal framing of the public space that contains the Roman polity in the *Ponema* is echoed in the *History's*

²¹ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 16–29 for his estate; for the *brebion* see Attaleiates, *Diataxis* 89.1175–1263. The inventories of the monastery account for movable items made of gold, silver, enamel, and silk as well as expensively decorated books and other art. All this was investment far beyond any idea of self-sufficiency; Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 34–5; *Diataxis* 77.980–5 on tenants and *paroikoi*.

²² On the nationalized piers see *History* 200.24–6 (Bekker 280); on the mill *Diataxis* 29, line 180.

²³ Attaleiates, *History* 148.20–1 (Bekker 202) for emphasis on the free operation of the market: καὶ ἄνετον ποιοῦνται τὴν πρᾶσιν πρὸς τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀκώλυτον; advice for Theodore see *Diataxis* 73.929–31: Ἐφιέμενος δὲ πλειόνων, ἐργαζέσθω τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγωνιζέσθω καὶ δι' ἀγαθῆς ἐπικτάσθω πίστewος, οἴκοθεν ἔχων τὸ παράδειγμα ἐκ τοῦ φύσαντος; possible Islamic origins for the ideology of unimpeded markets in Y. Essid, *A Critique of the Origins of Islamic Economic Thought* (Leiden, 1995), 153, also discussed in D. Graeber, *Debt: The First 5000 Years* (New York, 2011), 279; Michel Kaplan, 'Les monastères et le siècle à Byzance: Les investissements des laïcs au XIe siècle', in *idem* (ed.), *Byzance: Villes et campagnes* (Paris, 2006), 133 for Attaleiates' expectations of profits from his investments.

²⁴ Attaleiates, *Ponema Nomikon* 418 a.

²⁵ P. Magdalino, 'Aspects of Twelfth Century Kaiserkritik', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 330 focuses on republican Byzantine readings of the common/public good.

take on popular political mobilization.²⁶ His account of the urban rebellion against Michael V and the popular outcry against the rule of Emperor Michael VII Doukas casts the rebel citizenry as a legitimate political actor.²⁷ In the forum of Constantine in 1042 and Hagia Sophia in 1077 the people constituted themselves into a democratic assembly in order to uphold or bring about a legitimate political regime.²⁸ On the earlier instance they toppled Michael V for having sidelined the empress Zoe, on the latter, they sided with the rebel Nikephoros Botaneiates in order to defend the polity from tyrannical and incompetent rule.²⁹

And yet, popular rebellions aside, the *History* is still roughly organized along imperial reigns, purports to offer accounts of imperial actions, and is ultimately dedicated to a specific emperor. How does this undeniable fact affect our view of Attaleiates' republicanism and how does it square with Kazhdan's assertion that Attaleiates' opposition to the fiscal policies of an authoritarian Byzantine state determined his purported allegiance to the military aristocracy and its representative Nikephoros Botaneiates?³⁰ I argue elsewhere that Attaleiates' encomium to Botaneiates is as sincere as his dedication of the *Ponema Nomikon* to Michael VII Doukas, who, as we know, is savaged in the *History's* narrative. It is an opportunistic addition to the body of the *History* that can be shown to be sycophantic, if only the historical methodology outlined in the opening of that work is applied to

²⁶ J. Howard-Johnston, 'The *Peira* and Legal Practices in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in M.D. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow, eds, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between* (Oxford, 2017), 72 notes the republican nature of laws used in the eleventh century. If the perspective of the *ponema* inflected the Attaleiates' reading of contemporary events, then perhaps his political republicanism, as reflected in the *History*, was inseparable from republican echoes in eleventh-century Byzantine law.

²⁷ Attaleiates, *History* 11.7–14.13 (Bekker 13–17) on the popular uprising against Michael V; 184.24–185.5 (Bekker, 256) on the pro-Botaneiates assembly that emerged as a parallel force to Michael VII's authority in Constantinople. Both sets of events cited here are positively treated occasions of popular political initiative and self-government in Attaleiates' work; on Attaleiates' republicanism see D. Krallis, "'Democratic' Action in Eleventh-Century Byzantium: Michael Attaleiates' "Republicanism" in Context', *Viator* 40 (2009), 35–53. More significantly, see A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 2015) for a groundbreaking reading of Byzantine political history along republican lines.

²⁸ Attaleiates, *History* 11.7–14.13 (Bekker 13–17).

²⁹ Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, suggests that eleventh-century popular political action should be read in a broader context of popular politics in Byzantium. Further comparative work may be attempted with a focus on latterday events, which have of late received attention from N. Necipoğlu in her monograph *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009); D. Krallis, 'Popular Political Agency in Byzantium's Villages and Towns', *Byzantina Symmeikta* 28 (2018) for a discussion of Roman politics at the provincial level that explores the implications of Kaldellis's argument in *The Byzantine Republic*.

³⁰ Kazhdan, 'The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates', 86.

what Attaleiates says about Botaneiates.³¹ Once we leave the Menandrian conceptions of imperial power that underpin the encomium for the Thucydeidean, or rather Polybian, historical methodology privileged by Attaleiates in the body of the *History*, we note that the rebellions of 1042 and 1077 are in fact noteworthy for suggesting a flow of legitimacy that runs from the people to the ruler.³²

In the *History*, then, the polity comes first, individuals pursuing private agendas are castigated, and the emperor is a servant of that polity, duty-bound to defend it.³³ This is best seen in Attaleiates' portraits of two positively presented emperors in his work: Isaakios I Komnenos and Romanos IV Diogenes, but also in what the *History* records of Konstantinos X Doukas' and Nikephoros III Botaneiates' generosity. In his account of Isaakios' reign Attaleiates noted that,

Established now in authority, he looked into the matter of the magnitude of the imperial expenses and the provisioning of the soldiers, given that there were wars before him that would incur great costs, as the enemies had prevailed over the Romans and scorned them from every side. Recognizing that there was need for money and considering it essential to have access to as much of it as possible, he turned into a severe tax-collector for all who owed anything to the public treasury. Next, he was the first emperor to cut back on the stipends paid to holders of the various *officia* and tried to bring in money from all sources, like an insatiable hunter. After that, he was concerned with thrift and with adding lands to the imperial holdings, hence he deprived many private persons of many properties, disregarding the *chrysoboulla* by which possession of these lands had been conferred upon them.

He also fell upon some of the monasteries which had large and rich holdings that did not fall short of those belonging to the imperial treasuries in any way. He detached many properties from them and, by making a calculation, left the monasteries and the monks with just enough to suffice for their needs; the rest he appropriated to the imperial estates, a deed that led to a reputation for illegality or impiety. While the more religious people unthinkingly considered it even to be sacrilege, those who understand matters more carefully realized that its results were in fact advantageous... Lastly, the public estate, which was being pressed by many interests on all sides always to give away some of its properties, now

³¹ On the insincere nature of Attaleiates' encomium to Botaneiates see Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 162–77; for earlier views treating the encomium as an honest expression of Attaleiates' views see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956, repr. 1993), 317; F.H. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates* (Munich, 1971), 63, 136, 141; most recently A. Markopoulos, 'The Portrayal of the Male Figure in Michael Attaleiates', in V. Vlyssidou, ed., *The Empire in Crisis(?): Byzantium in the Eleventh Century (1025–1081)* (Athens, 2003), 215–30, here 217–20.

³² For Attaleiates and Polybios see Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 52–69 and 192–205.

³³ Attaleiates, *History* 150.10 (Bekker 204) on a condemnation of unjust profit: τὸ δ' ἄδικον κέρδος.

received additions and no small relief, albeit without causing any injury to others.³⁴

Attaleiates endorses here Isaakios' agenda. The emperor had a clear conception of his duty to defend the Romans from their enemies, and understood that to do so he needed to tax his subjects and effect economies by cutting the salaries of office holders. Isaakios also confiscated monastic properties, a policy that was treated as sacrilege by the pious but deemed advantageous by those thinking more carefully (a distinction that appears more than once in the *History*). To this Attaleiates adds that the farmers living next to the monasteries breathed a sigh of relief for having been freed from the oppression of the pious foundations. The language deployed here suggests that Attaleiates could not but see in the monasteries the oppressive *dynatoi* of the Macedonian legislation.³⁵

The *History* also notes approvingly that the emperor taxed those who owed money to the treasury and confiscated lands by cancelling previously existing imperial grants. In Byzantium, the people who successfully deferred tax payments and left debts unpaid while at the same time procuring imperial *chrysoboulla* were invariably members of the elite; individuals, like Attaleiates or wealthier, who successfully lobbied emperors and members of the chancery in order to extract fiscal concessions. Thus the careful entrepreneur, who had himself effectively lobbied for the protection of his personal fortune, condoned here fiscal policies that would no doubt have affected him personally, were anyone in his time to implement them.

³⁴ Attaleiates, *History* 47.1–48.2 (Bekker 60–62)

Καὶ καταστησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποβλέπει καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ ὀψωνισμοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέγεθος, καὶ ὡς πόλεμοι τούτῳ πρόκεινται πολλὴν δαπάνην ἐφέλκοντες διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐναντίους κατισχύσαι καὶ πανταχόθεν κατεπαίρεσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ χρημάτων δεῖσθαι σκοπήσας, καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐπορίαν πλείστην ὄσσην ἀπαραίτητον λογισάμενος, βαρὺς ἐχρημάτισε φορολόγος τοῖς χρεωστοῦσι δημόσια. εἶτα καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀφικίων δόσεις περιέτεμε πρῶτος, καὶ πανταχόθεν οἶά τις ἄπληστος θηρευτῆς εἰσποιεῖτο τὰ χρήματα. ἐμέλησε δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ φειδωλίας καὶ τοῦ προσθήκη ἀγρῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ περιποιήσασθαι. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἰδιωτικὰ πρόσωπα πολλῶν ἀπεστέρησε κτήσεων, παριδῶν τὰς χρυσοβούλλους τούτων γραφάς, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς δεσποτείας ἠδραίναντο· ἐνέσκηψε δὲ καὶ τισι τῶν φροντιστηρίων, μεγάλας καὶ πλουσίας κτήσεις ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς θησαυροῖς ἀνακειμένων ἀποδεύσας οὐδ' ὄλως· καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος, καὶ διὰ λογοποιίας τὸ ἄρκουν ἐγκαταλιπὼν μοναῖς καὶ μονάζουσιν, τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τὸ περισσὸν προσαφώρισε, πρᾶγμα παρανομίας μὲν δόξαν ἢ ἀσεβείας εἰσάγον, καὶ πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν τοῖς εὐλαβεστέροις ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ἀναφερόμενον, ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ μὴδὲν ἄτοπον ἀποφέρον πρὸς γε τοὺς ἐμβριθῶς τὰ πράγματα διακρίνοντας... καὶ ὁ δημόσιος πολλὰς χερσὶν ἐπαφιέται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πολυμερῶς συνωθούμενος προσθήκη ἐδέξατο καὶ παραψυχὴν οὐ μετρίαν, ἐν οἷς ἑτέρους ποσῶς οὐδ' ἐλωβήσατο.

³⁵ Kazhdan, 'The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates', 86 is much more conservative in his reading and argues that Attaleiates held a 'somewhat sceptical attitude to piety and monasticism'; F. Bernard and C. Livanos, trans., *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauroπος* (Washington, D.C., 2018), ix on the culture clash between erudite state officials and monks, which marked the eleventh-century cultural scene and may also have affected his views on the policies discussed here.

Konstantinos X Doukas is set up by Attaleiates as a photonegative of Isaakios' policies. According to the *History* the emperor's

piety, compassion for the poor, a liking for monks, a reluctance to impose bloody punishments, as well as his accessibility, were qualities that no one could fail to praise, except that in practice they are beneficial only to one who has them and a few more in his vicinity or who are received favourably by him.

Here the reader must carefully parse Attaleiates' words. Konstantinos was outwardly pious and proved generous to the monks and the poor of Constantinople. This attribute, however, was not beneficial to the state, as only the few men who were received favourably by the emperor benefited from such policies. On the other hand there was a flipside to Konstantinos' record:

his stinginess, zeal in collecting public funds, even by means that were not so reputable, his arbitrary exercise of judicial power, and disregard for military success, strategic planning, and the maintenance of the frontiers proved to be extremely harmful to many, in fact to almost all of those who lived under Roman authority.³⁶

Attaleiates may appear to contradict his earlier comments on imperial benefactions when he complains about Konstantinos' stinginess and fiscal exactions. He did not, however, object to taxation but rather to the use of collected revenues, a point that emerges clearly at the closing of his account where he notes that the emperor did not understand that money (*chremata*) denoted use and utility (*chresin*).³⁷ More to the point, Attaleiates tells his readers what state treasure should have been used for: military success, strategic planning, and the strengthening of the frontiers, all actions associated with the protection of the Romaiοi. A reaffirmation of exactly this line of thinking comes in the midst of a backhanded compliment offered to Nikephoros III Botaneiates, the ostensible hero of Attaleiates' work:

While rebellions were still festering and the scarcity that was afflicting the public sphere required not small expenses but rather abundant and costly resources for military expenditures and for all the other causes and needs of the time, he did

³⁶ Attaleiates, *History* 58.14–22 (Bekker 76–77):

τὸ γὰρ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ φιλοπύτων ἄμα καὶ φιλομόναχον καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς κόλασιν δι' αἵματος ἔτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εὐπρόσιτον, ἐπαίνων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ μὴ ἀξίων, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔχοντι μόνῳ τὴν ὄνησιν ἐπιφέρειν ἐδοκιμάζοντο, καὶ τισιν ὀλίγοις τῶν προσιόντων ἢ ὁμαλῶς προδεχθέντων αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ φειδωλὸν καὶ ἄγαν ποριστικὸν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἔστιν οἷς καὶ οὐκ ἐν εὐπροσώποις αἰτίαις, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐξουσίαν δικαστικόν, καὶ τὸ καταφρονητικὸν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εὐπραγίας καὶ στρατηγικῆς καὶ ἀκρητικῆς εὐπαθείας πολλῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις τελούντων λυμαντικὸν ἐψηφίζοντο.

Attaleiates' critique is broader as seen in *History* 59.16–60.13 (Bekker 78–80) for the effects of parsimony on Asia's defences; 60.14–62.3 (Bekker 80–82), parsimony as the cause of the fall of a city to the enemy; 62.22–7 (Bekker 84) parsimony keeps the emperor from fielding an army against the Ouzoi.

³⁷ Attaleiates, *History* 62.19 (Bekker 82).

not take note of the size of those demands and the great need or abandon himself to the harshness of pettiness. Rather, in a greathearted and faithful way he sought to please God even further by issuing legislation that forgave all debt for the entire populace as well as for those in office.³⁸

A careful reader of the *History* will cut through the language of praise and note that the emperor did not take note of the size of those demands and the great challenges facing the state. Once again Attaleiates presents us with a tension between hollow Menandrian virtues and patriotic realpolitik. There is, therefore, an ostensible clash between Attaleiates' belief in the unhindered operation of economic agents in the empire's public spaces and his conviction that emperors who became exacting taxmen in their efforts to fund the empire's wars had acted in the best interest of the polity. In the end the reader must conclude that for Attaleiates the survival of the polity was an essential precondition for the freedom of economic agents.

ROUSELIOS AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF BYZANTINE ROMANITAS

In his account of the Norman mercenary Rouselios' capture by the Turks in 1075 Attaleiates notes that '[They] arrested him and kept him as a bound captive, for their customary law is to deceive, slaughter, and betray the Romans.'³⁹ An almost imperceptible slippage occurs here; a conflation between barbarian and Roman that the reader has already encountered on an earlier occasion. When during the 1054 siege of Manzikert another Norman mercenary burned the besieging Turks' trebuchet, the Sultan Togrul Beg admonished his troops not to underestimate the Romans.⁴⁰ Twenty years

³⁸ Attaleiates, *History* 202.5–203.3 (283)

ἔτι δὲ τῆς τούτων φλεγμαιοῦσης ἀποστασίας, καὶ δαπάνης οὐτι σμικρᾶς ἀλλὰ πολυόλβου καὶ μυριοτάλαντου δαψίλειαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιζητούντων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὀψωνίοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν καιρῶν ἀφορμαῖς καὶ προφάσεσιν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τούτων καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην χρεῖαν ἐπέβλεψε καὶ σμικρολογίας δεινότητι ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν πλάτει καρδίας καὶ πίστεως τὸ πλάτος ἐπιτείνων τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐαρεστήσεως χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει νομοθετεῖ.

On another two occasions Attaleiates also notes something similar. In *History* 199.10–15 (Bekker 277) Botaneiates returns to the church treasures that Michael VII had confiscated, despite the ἀπορία of the treasury and in *History* 200.24–6 (Bekker 280) he reprivatized the nationalized piers of the Constantinopolitan waterfront despite the state's need for more resources.

³⁹ Attaleiates, *History* 147.6–9 (Bekker 199):

οἱ γὰρ Τοῦρκοι...κατέσχον αὐτὸν καὶ δεσμώτην ἀπέδειξαν, παράγγελμα νόμιμον ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους ἀπατᾶν καὶ σφάττειν καὶ προδιδόναι.

⁴⁰ Attaleiates, *History* 35.17–21 (Bekker 46–7) on Togrul Beg and the Romanization of the Latins in Byzantine service; Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 159 on this same event.

later, in the 1070s, the Turks once again look at Norman warriors and see Romans. They thus treat Rouselios as they habitually treat Romans.

This collapsing of categories is anticipated in the *History's* opening pages, where Attaleiates speaks of the *isopoliteia*—a highly unusual term, meaning something like commonwealth—of the Romans and the South Italian Albans.⁴¹ As for Rouselios in particular, Attaleiates will later on explain that,

When he reached the Armeniakon theme, he immediately reclaimed his former castles and made raids against the Turks, preventing them from attacking this theme and inflicting on it the evils of war.⁴²

This Norman's dedication to the defence of Roman territories endeared Rouselios to Attaleiates, who had noted in an earlier discussion of Romanos IV Diogenes, that even though that emperor could have enjoyed the comfortable surroundings of the palace he chose to assume the martial pains of the campaign trail for the benefit of his *patris*.⁴³ Rouselios then, like Romanos, was admired for his dedication to the defence of the Romans. So much so, that after Alexios Komnenos captured him, Attaleiates lamented the failure of Michael VII Doukas to make good use of the Norman warrior and noted that the emperor

had no intention of bringing the captive before his presence and into his sight, nor did he reach a decision worthy of imperial benevolence and magnanimity, which would have been to bring legal proceedings against him, and, after the verdict had been reached, to condemn him to death, all in order to be able, at that point, to temper his righteous wrath with gentleness and compassion and thus to preserve for the Roman empire a soldier and commander of his calibre, who was capable of healing many of the wounds festering in the east.⁴⁴

⁴¹ I. Polemis, *Ιστορία*, 33, n.9 correctly identifies the Albanoi of Attaleiates' text with the local Normans (from Alba) and not Albanian populations in Southern Italy (E.L. Branousi, 'Οι ὄροι Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Ἀρβανίται καὶ ἡ πρώτη μνεία τοῦ ὁμονύμου λαοῦ εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου αἰῶνος', *Σύμμεικτα* 2 (1970), 207–54).

⁴² Attaleiates, *History* 146.15–22 (Bekker 198–9):

τὸ θέμα τῶν Ἀρμενιакῶν καταλαβὼν τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοῦ κάστροις καὶ ἀθθῖς ἀποκατέστη, καὶ οὕτως ἐκδρομὰς κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ποιούμενος ἀπέιρξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ θέματι προσβάλλειν καὶ πολεμικοῖς περιβάλλειν κακοῖς.

⁴³ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 157–69 for Rouselios in the *History*.

⁴⁴ Attaleiates, *History* 152.4–15 (Bekker 207):

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μὴ προθέμενος εἰς ὄψιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν, καί τι καὶ βουλεύσασθαι βασιλικῆς ἀνεξικακίας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐπάξειον, καὶ προθεῖναι κατ' αὐτοῦ δικαστήριον, καὶ μετὰ διάγνωσιν καταδίκη μὲν θανατηφόρῳ τοῦτον ὑποβαλεῖν, ἀντιστήσαι δὲ τῷ δικαίῳ χόλω τὸ ἡπιώτατον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, καὶ οὕτω φυλάξει τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τηλικούτων στρατιώτην καὶ στρατηγόν, δυνάμενον ἐν τοῖς φλεγμαίνουσι κακοῖς τῆς ἑώας ἰάσασθαι πολλὰ τῶν αὐτῆς συντριμμάτων.

Romanos receives Krispinos, another 'useful' Frank, in *History* 94.8–15 (Bekker 124–5).

Attaleiates' prescription finds precedent in a legal case he had personally helped try, the condemnation for treason and subsequent pardon of Romanos Diogenes in 1068.⁴⁵ Like Romanos, Rouselios was treated as a potential saviour of the Roman polity. Attaleiates was not troubled much by the fact that Rouselios was Norman; neither for that matter were the Amaseians in Anatolia, who stood on his side when Alexios Komnenos attempted to capture him.⁴⁶ All Attaleiates cared for was that Rouselios could free Asia of the Turks.

The place of Normans and other outsiders in Byzantine society is a subject larger than the scope of this paper.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Attaleiates' perspective on this issue deserves analysis and is in fact an essential part of any discussion about his social views. As the empire doubled its size in the century and a half of Macedonian rule, Byzantine ethnic identity, what Anthony Kaldellis described as national *romanitas*, was severely diluted.⁴⁸ If, however, thousands of Khurramites could be assimilated in a sea of Romans in the ninth century, conditions were very different by the 1070s, when the newly truncated Byzantine homeland was an ethnic patchwork in a way that Byzantium had not been under the Amorians.⁴⁹ As imperial subjects old and new fled before the Turkish advance in Asia Minor towards the less than ethnically homogenous territories still under Byzantine control, traditional notions of Romanness had no doubt to be reassessed. Conditions of collapsed frontiers and erased ethnic boundaries engendered parallel vocabularies of integration and xenophobia that mirror, perhaps, the modern postcolonial experience with the attendant tense encounters among familiar others.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Attaleiates, *History* 74.15–19 (Bekker 98); Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 166–7.

⁴⁶ D.R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, eds, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Berlin, 2001), 1.2.3–3.2 (Leib, I, 12–15).

⁴⁷ J. Shepard, 'When Greek Meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097–8', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 185–277; *idem*, 'The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', *ANS* 15 (1992–93), 275–305; P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background to the First Crusade* (Toronto, 1996), 22–8 with insights on the *History's* treatment of foreigners and 29–32 for Attaleiates' sympathy for the Normans; A.P. Kazhdan, 'Latins and Franks in Byzantium: Perception and Reality from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Century', in A. Laiou and R. Parviz Mottahedeh, eds, *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, D.C., 2001) for an overview of this relationship; Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 157–69 for Rouselios in particular as a wasted opportunity, and, more recently, A. Olson, 'Working with Roman History: Attaleiates' Portrayal of the Normans', *BMGS* 41.1 (2017), 1–14.

⁴⁸ Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 74–82 on the national *romanitas* of Byzantium; J. Haldon, 'Social Elites, Wealth and Power', in *idem*, ed., *Social History of Byzantium* (Chichester, 2009), 177–8, on the social fluidity of the middle Byzantine period and the absorption of new ethnic groups in the Roman polity.

⁴⁹ On the case of the Khurramites see A. Lesmüller-Werner and H. Thurn, eds, *Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, CFHB 14 (Berlin 1978), 38 (book 3.3) for Roman wives and 41 (book 3.6) for settlement in themes. A. Moffatt, trans., *Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos: The Book of Ceremonies in 2 Volumes* (Canberra, 2012), II, 694–5 on tax credits offered to Roman families in order to facilitate the settlers' integration.

⁵⁰ The term postcolonial is used here in the manner of analogy, without reference to the ever-expanding modern literature on the subject. For a sceptic's take on the application of

Attaleiates' contribution to the contemporary conversation on these developments is itself not without contradictions. On the one hand he speaks of Rouselios' barbarian cruelty and insolence when discussing the Norman's depredations in the vicinity of Chrysopolis, while on the other he offers the nuanced and sympathetic image of Rouselios and the Normans presented above. Similarly, on different pages of the *History*, the Armenians are alternately loyal Roman soldiers and vicious heretical aliens.⁵¹ It is in the context of such confusion that a conception of the Roman state as *isopoliteia*, a commonwealth, may have arisen. Ultimately Attaleiates' openness towards a more complicated notion of *romanitas* is showcased in his fictive reconstruction of Nikephoros III Botaneiates' Iberian ancestry:

The men who live in Iberia are most brave and mighty, and they had in the past been in continual and total war with the Romans, performing feats of endurance and bravery against them. The Romans managed only with great difficulty to conquer them through their own bravery and unrivalled impetus. Eventually they made treaties and their people mixed through intermarriage and mutual emigration.

This account is a good medieval reading of imperial Roman history but also an apt way to chart the empire's conditions in the 1070s. In fact, Attaleiates' contemporary Michael Psellos shared this perspective and in the *Historia Syntomos* and asserted that the Emperor Trajan was ethnically a Celt, who expressed his *romanitas* through love of literature and service to the Roman polity.⁵² John Haldon has suggested that as *krites tou stratopedou*, Attaleiates was at least partially responsible for liaising with foreign mercenaries and for guaranteeing the seamless integration of foreign warriors into Roman lands.⁵³ Professionally engaged with foreigners and self-consciously describing himself as *xenos* in Constantinople—one who early in his career overcame court snobbery if not derision—Attaleiates could appreciate the role and place of outsiders in the empire's constantly evolving human geography.

postcolonial theory to the Roman (and by extension the Byzantine) worlds see S. Dmitriev, '(Re-)Constructing the Roman Empire; from "Imperialism" to "Post-Colonialism". An Historical Approach to History and Historiography', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. 5.1.1 (2009), 121–61; for Byzantine conceptions of the frontier see D. Krallis, 'The Army that Crossed Two Frontiers and Established a Third: The Uses of the Frontier by an Eleventh-Century Byzantine Author', in *Frontières au moyen âge—Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, FIDEM series Textes et études du moyen âge (Louvain, 2006), 335–48; Psellos develops a very similar notion of the frontier in *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita*, II, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexel (Milan, 1941), 239, line 16 (*ep.* 207).

⁵¹ Attaleiates, *History* 139.20–1 (Bekker 189) for Rouselios at Chrysopolis; *History* 73.12–17 (Bekker 97) for heretical Armenians; *History* 83.1–2 (Bekker 109) on Armenian troops fighting alongside the emperor.

⁵² W.J. Aerts, ed. and trans., *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, CFHB 30 (Berlin, 1990), 21. This passage was spotted and pointed out to me by Alexander Olson.

⁵³ Haldon and Morrisson, 'The *krites tou stratopedou*'.

UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL

In late August 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes was captured on the battlefield of Manzikert. Influential members of the Senate were also missing in action. Attaleiates notes that Leon *epi ton deeseon* and Eustratios Choirosphaktes died, while his friend Basileios Maleses, the *logothetes ton hydaton*, was captured on that fateful day.⁵⁴ It is tempting to treat the *History's* reference to Maleses and to other members of the empire's officialdom as evidence of what Michael Angold once termed the autobiographical impulse.⁵⁵ Do we detect here the faint traces of social, political, and intellectual bonds forged in classrooms, on the benches of the courts, in palace corridors, and on the mule-tracks of Anatolia?⁵⁶ Perhaps. The Byzantine court was, after all, a face-to-face society and some of the connections discussed here also left their marks in Psellos' more than five hundred surviving letters, where we find evidence of his contacts with Eustratios, Leon, and intriguingly with Attaleiates' friend Maleses.⁵⁷

Attaleiates and Maleses were both promoted by Romanos IV Diogenes, who lent them his ear on matters of strategy.⁵⁸ After Manzikert, however, their trajectories sharply diverged. Attaleiates swiftly returned to the capital to claim a place in a new political reality, while Maleses remained in the hands of the Turks. Once he was released from captivity, he joined Ioannes Doukas in Asia Minor. After the *kaisar's* defeat by Rouselios, Maleses became the Norman's advisor until the latter was in turn defeated and captured by the Turks. Just then Attaleiates' friend rushed to Constantinople lobbying for the ransoming of both Ioannes Doukas and Rouselios. The *History* explains that Maleses' rapport with Ioannes Doukas was based on the *kaisar's* respect for his intellect. Such intellectual affinity, however, associates Maleses closely with the man

⁵⁴ Attaleiates, *History* 124.10–15 (Bekker 167).

⁵⁵ M. Angold, 'The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium', *DOP* 52 (1998), 225–57.

⁵⁶ Bernard and Livanos, *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauroπους*, 19 (poem 11 on the intense competition between rival schools, suggesting bonds among fellow school graduates).

⁵⁷ S. Papaioannou, 'Das Briefcorpus des Michael Psellos: Vorarbeiten zu einer kritischer edition; mit einem Anhang: Edition eines unbekanntes Briefs', *JÖB* 48 (1998), 67–117, here 100–1 for the letters of Psellos to Eustratios; E. De Vries-Van der Velden outlines the relationship among Maleses, Psellos, and Attaleiates in 'Psellos et son gendre', *BF* 23 (1996), 109–49. While aspects of her arguments are perhaps problematic, her overall line of thought appears sound. A.P. Kazhdan, 'Basile Malesis encore une fois', *BS* 34 (1973), 219f for a weak critique of this thesis. J. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού* (Athens, 2004), 164, n.112 engages with but never directly addresses De Vries-Van der Velden's arguments. Overall, even if Psellos was not Maleses' adoptive father-in-law, he nonetheless corresponded with Attaleiates' friend, thus placing himself within the range of the judge's social network.

⁵⁸ Attaleiates, *History* 97.11–99.4 (Bekker 129–31) and 102.7–17 (Bekker 136)—Attaleiates advises the emperor and the chiefs of staff; *History* 124.13–14 (Bekker 167)—Maleses' closeness to Romanos.

behind Romanos Diogenes' blinding.⁵⁹ That does not influence Attaleiates' view of his friend's behaviour one bit. Similarly, Attaleiates fails to editorialize on Maleses' association with Rouselios, who played a crucial role, as part of Crispin's war-band, in the defeat of Romanos during the post-Manzikert civil strife.⁶⁰ Intelligence and charisma emerge here as more significant bonds between men than abstract notions of class loyalty.⁶¹ The ever-changing relationships, alliances, and court alignments outlined in the *History* highlight the importance of dedication to friends and family and reveal the rather personal nature of such associations at the elite level. In view of that and in light of the double-tongued nature of the *History's* encomium to Botaneiates, Kazhdan's treatment of Attaleiates as a supporter—albeit critical—of the military aristocracy must be reassessed.⁶²

Where, then, does this leave Attaleiates himself? The *Diataxis* offers an intriguing nugget regarding his place in the Byzantine imperial *taxis*. According to Michael VII Doukas' chancery,

an example has been revealed right before our eyes and very close at hand that this is so and that these words are true, namely the *anthypatos* and judge, Michael Attaleiates, a man venerated for the dignity of his bearing and his good character, a very serious individual of great learning and admirable experience, and even more admirable in his loyalty to my majesty.⁶³

The language deployed here by the emperor's clerical staff suggests that Attaleiates was well known at court where his loyalty could be counted on. In fact, in the course of Bryennios' rebellion in 1077, Attaleiates sided with the emperor even when that meant that his estate in Rhaidestos would be looted by the very same mob that he later on cast as republican citizenry.⁶⁴ During the reign of Michael's successor, Nikephoros III Botaneiates, Attaleiates helped draft a law that aimed to shield members of an emperor's administration from the effects of regime change.⁶⁵ This is certainly more than the self-serving initiative of a courtier who had opportunistically aligned himself with successive imperial regimes. It is the expression of a firm belief in the continuity of

⁵⁹ Attaleiates, *History* 138.20–3 (Bekker 187).

⁶⁰ Attaleiates, *History* 126.21–127.10 (Bekker 170–1).

⁶¹ Haldon 'Social Elites, Wealth and Power', 171 on the complex nature of relations at the elite level.

⁶² For double-tongued narratives in the years after Attaleiates' life, see P. Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia: A Poetics of the Twelfth Century Medieval Greek Novel* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

⁶³ *Diataxis* 103.1372–8. ⁶⁴ Attaleiates, *History* 180.14–16 (Bekker 249).

⁶⁵ L. Burgmann, 'A Law for Emperors: Observations on a Chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates', in Paul Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium* (London, 1994), 247–58, esp. 253, 256; J. Gouillard, 'Un Chrysobulle de Nicéphore Botaneiates à souscription synodale', *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), 29–41. The two scholars highlight Attaleiates' role in Botaneiates' legislative agenda.

the state. Emperors come and go, the polity of the Romans and its servants must remain.

This sense of continuity is enhanced by the structure itself of the *History*, a long narrative (322 pages in the Bonn edition) without regnal or temporal rubrics to divide the text and guide the reader. While significant segments of Attaleiates' historical work record the actions of reigning emperors—the reign of Romanos IV is a case in point—others shift attention to the rebels who tried, with varying degrees of success, to topple a given ruler (e.g., Tornikios during the reign of Konstantinos IX and Bryennios or Botaneiates under Michael VII). It appears then that Attaleiates' interest is focused on the main agents affecting the Roman polity and not on the emperors per se.

The fluidity of political alignments in and around the Byzantine court discussed here brings us face to face with the crucial question of Attaleiates' relationship with the protean Michael Psellos. I have argued elsewhere that Psellos and Attaleiates shared much when it came to their vision of the empire.⁶⁶ Their occasional disagreements—on Paraspondylos and more significantly on Romanos IV Diogenes—should not be taken as evidence that they existed in separate social spheres.⁶⁷ On the contrary there is evidence in their works of dialogue between the two on contemporary politics. Significantly, there is also substantive agreement on the way the two viewed the Roman polity. If Attaleiates was ready to present the Scipiones and the Fabii as the paragons of Roman virtue, Psellos, in the *Historia Syntomos*, informed the young Michael Doukas that the time of the consuls was when the Roman polity had been best ruled.⁶⁸ Similar instances of agreement may be detected in their discussions of natural phenomena and historical causation in general. Furthermore, it is difficult for one to share Kazhdan's idea that Attaleiates was somehow closer to the circle of Keroularios, if one reads what Attaleiates has to say about the patriarch and notices the points of agreement between the *History* and the *Chronographia*.⁶⁹

The sole agent in the *History* displaying all the hallmarks of prudent, heroic, and patriotic handling of Roman affairs is Alexios Komnenos. While the

⁶⁶ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 94–114 on moments of true agreement between the two men.

⁶⁷ Kazhdan, 'The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates', 85 for this notion. On the disagreement between Attaleiates and Psellos on the issue of Paraspondylos see Psellos, *Chronographia* vi (Theodora), 6–10 (ed. Renauld, II, 74–7); Attaleiates, *History* 39.5–10 (Bekker 52). For a discussion of Paraspondylos and Psellos, see E. De Vries-Van der Velden, 'Les amitiés dangereuses: Psellos et Léon Paraspondylos', *BS* 60 (1999), 315–50.

⁶⁸ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 57–60, 198–9, and 224–5 on the Scipiones; W.J. Aerts, ed. and trans., *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos* (Berlin, 1990), 10.11, 11.20–4 on the days of the consuls.

⁶⁹ Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, 174–84, on Attaleiates' reading of natural phenomena; D. Krallis, 'Sacred Emperor, Holy Patriarch: A New Reading of the Clash between Emperor Isaakios I Komnenos and Patriarch Michael Keroularios in Attaleiates' *History*', *BS* 67 (2009), 169–90.

donations of land and goods to Attaleiates' monastery by members of the Komnenian family and social circle may confirm the judge's links to and support for the Komnenoi, the significance of such support should be kept in perspective.⁷⁰ In Alexios, Attaleiates did not see a military aristocrat who would save him from the exactions of the Byzantine treasury. Alexios emerges from the pages of the *History* a young Roman hero, who could perhaps be counted on to save the Roman polity from the greatest crisis in centuries. There is every indication that Attaleiates saw no contradiction in his support for a strong warrior and his concurrent membership in an increasingly entrepreneurial senatorial class of new aristocrats. In his writings, the so-called civilian–military divide is bridged, as the concern for the Roman polity takes precedence.⁷¹ There is every indication that had Attaleiates lived well into Alexios' reign, he would have sought to ally himself with the Komnenoi. In that, however, he may have ended up frustrated. Attaleiates imagined himself a Roman aristocrat. He was sensitive to rank and he regularly names the dignities and offices of the *History's* cast. It is therefore not at all clear that the status-conscious Attaleiates would have appreciated the reforms of the imperial *taxis* instituted by Alexios Komnenos. In that sense then, Attaleiates was still very much a product of the eleventh century, seeking in Alexios a new Boulgaroktonos and a renewed emphasis on the general interest of the Roman polity, as this had been enshrined in the Macedonian land legislation. The aristocratic revolution initiated by the Komnenoi would probably have appalled him.

⁷⁰ *Diataxis* 99.1326–33 on the said property; Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates*, chapter 6 for this relationship.

⁷¹ Such a bridge is most clearly on display in the *History's* account of Michael Botaneiates' warrior fury (168.5–169.10 (Bekker 231–3)) and urbane sociality (171.17–172.11 (Bekker 236–7)); Kazhdan, 'The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates', 84–5 suggests much the same, only then to reach a different conclusion from the one presented here.

Social Change in the Countryside of Eleventh-Century Byzantium

Kostis Smyrlis

It was not a revolution—change being neither complete nor sudden—but the countryside of Komnenian Byzantium was profoundly different from that of the tenth-century empire of the Macedonians. One of the most important transformations was the triumph of great landownership. By the end of the eleventh century, a large proportion of the arable land belonged to the estates of more or less powerful landowners who, in a number of ways, dominated the peasants who lived there. At the same time, the state owned more of the empire's land than before, much of which was under the control of prominent members of the ruling Komnenian family. Beside landownership, change is also apparent in the increased prosperity and assertiveness of provincial towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Developments within rural society have been under scrutiny since the beginnings of modern scholarship on Byzantium, with the eleventh century being singled out as a turning point. Considerable progress has been made, but many questions remain unanswered. When did the large estate become the dominant form of land exploitation and what proportion of the land was part of large estates at the end of the eleventh century? How powerful were provincial landowners and did their increased wealth translate into greater influence or autonomy? What impact did developments in the countryside have on the evolution of towns and their relations with the centre? What did it mean to be a dependent peasant and what happened to the villages turned into estates? Probably none of these questions will ever receive a definitive answer given the limited amount of available evidence. In what follows, I will review the scholarship regarding these matters and offer some new insights of my own. My focus is on landownership and state finances and on the impact which changes in these domains had on the different layers of rural society.

LANDOWNERSHIP AND THE STATE

As noted, the growth of large-scale landownership was well advanced by the eleventh century. Large agricultural units were already common in the ninth century and their proliferation continued in the next two centuries, probably with little interruption. Growth was achieved through the acquisition of deserted village lands and peasant plots.¹ If the increased importance of large estates is not in doubt, it is not clear when they became dominant. The tenth-century evidence is too scarce to allow for any firm conclusion.² In the eleventh century, we can detect the existence of a dense network of estates in certain parts of Macedonia. In 1047, for example, the estates of the monastery of Iviron in coastal Chalkidike and the Strymon Valley neighboured, for the most part, other, private or imperial, estates and less often the territory of a village or a town (*kastron*).³ A similar picture emerges from the 1073 *praktikon* of Andronikos Doukas concerning the region of Miletus.⁴ However, in the cadaster of Thebes, dating from the second half of the eleventh century, most of the land was apparently divided into small to medium-sized plots which belonged mainly to the local town and village elite.⁵ At least to some extent this may be attributed to the fact that the cadaster offers a more complete picture of landownership than monastic documents, which tend to focus on large landholdings. One should also take into account geographical variation. Large estates are likely to have become dominant earlier and their network denser in those regions which were most fertile and easy to access by boat.

¹ J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries', in A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium, From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 2002), I, 285–90.

² Nicolas Oikonomides has suggested that estates dominated the countryside already in that century: 'The Social Structure of the Byzantine Countryside in the First Half of the Tenth Century', *Symmeikta* 10 (1996), 103–24; reprinted in *idem, Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Aldershot, 2004), XVI.

³ J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, and D. Papachryssanthou, eds, H. Métrévélis (collab.), *Actes d'Iviron I, des origines au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1985; hereafter *Iviron I*), no. 29.

⁴ M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, ed., *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. Β', Δημοσίων Λειτουργιών* (Athens, 1980; hereafter *Patmos II*), no. 50.

⁵ N. Svoronos, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes', *BCH* 83 (1959), 1–166 (text on pp. 11–19); repr. in *idem, Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'empire byzantin* (London, 1973), no. III. See the discussion of this document in P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway, 1979), 193–200 and A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 63–4; Lemerle suggests, on p. 195, n. 1, that the cadaster may not record estates because their owners had obtained the privilege of paying their taxes in Constantinople. The landownership pattern that can be gleaned from the undated property inventory of a—probably monastic—landowner in the region of Athens bears significant similarities to the situation implied by the Theban cadaster: E. Granstrom, I. Medvedev, and D. Papachryssanthou, 'Fragment d'un praktikon de la région d'Athènes (avant 1204)', *REB* 34 (1976), 5–44; text on pp. 30–41.

The fact that scholarship has tended to think in terms of a dichotomy between peasants and large landowners has taken attention away from other types of proprietors. Besides the cadaster of Thebes, monastic archives also reveal the existence of middling landowners, such as those living in the little town of Hierissos, just to the north of Mt Athos.⁶ Although we mostly see this type of property when it is sold or donated to monasteries, it seems that it retained its importance throughout the eleventh century and beyond. Some at least of these lands were situated within the town territory (*ta synora tou kastrou*), the existence of which is revealed by Athonite documents.⁷ Apart from the properties of individual town dwellers, this territory also included communal lands, as in the case of villages.⁸

There is very little evidence of more modest landowners in our sources. To some extent this is to be expected. Monastic archives, our main source on landownership, provide information on other proprietors usually when they alienate their lands to the monasteries. Properties belonging to modest landowners have the least chances of leaving traces in this documentation because few acts concerning acquisitions of limited importance have been preserved.⁹ It is noteworthy, however, that in the cadaster of Thebes there are not many landowners who may be identified as peasants.¹⁰ This does not mean that modest landowners independent of landlords disappeared altogether. We have an example of a village that was apparently composed of independent peasants in early twelfth-century Crete.¹¹ Moreover, although the trend was for large estates to grow over time, this progress could also be reversed. This happened, apparently on a large scale, after the Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor in the late eleventh century which forced many landowners off their properties. Local peasants appropriated these lands and in some cases it took the original owners decades to reclaim them.¹²

⁶ The existence of 'middling landlords' in provincial towns is noted in J. Haldon, 'Social Elites, Wealth, and Power', in J. Haldon, ed., *The Social History of Byzantium* (Chichester, 2009), 190–1. On Hierissos see below.

⁷ *Iviron I*, nos 29 (1047), l. 23; 30 (second half of the eleventh c.), l. 12.

⁸ *Iviron I*, 131. See also the disputes over properties claimed by the town dwellers as a group: J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, and D. Papachryssanthou, eds, V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli (collab.), *Actes d'Iviron II, du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204* (Paris, 1990; hereafter *Iviron II*), no. 34 (1062); P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, and N. Svoronos, eds, *Actes de Lavra I, des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970; hereafter *Lavra I*), no. 37 (1076–7). On the communal lands of the village, see Lefort, 'The Rural Economy', 279–80.

⁹ K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe—milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 2006), 146–50.

¹⁰ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 75–6.

¹¹ F. Miklosich and I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi, sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1860–90), VI, 95–9 (1118). See also P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 160–1.

¹² Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 169–70; cf. pp. 176–7, on the usurpations that followed the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

The state and its financial interests played a crucial part in the transformation of the pattern of landownership:¹³ first, during the tenth century, by selling deserted village lands to well-off peasants and to 'powerful' individuals or institutions coming from outside the village commune; next, from around the turn of the eleventh century, by expanding public estates or creating new ones. The state enlarged its properties by absorbing abandoned lands as well as through confiscations and purchases.¹⁴ The state thus became a landowner on a larger scale than before, clearly because it realized that the revenues from land exploitation were greater than those from taxation. Some of these lands the state awarded to state-controlled pious institutions in Constantinople, thereby funding charitable activity in the capital as well as providing income for favoured individuals. The next stage of state intervention took place after Alexios I Komnenos came to power in 1081. In a series of confiscations from the late 1080s, the state expropriated extensive lands in Europe belonging to monasteries, churches, and laymen. The confiscations were done by applying, in an essentially abusive way, the rule according to which a landowner should not possess more land than the amount corresponding to their tax liability. Alexios I apparently raised the tax rate and did not give landowners the option of keeping their properties by paying more. These confiscations were done in response to the loss of state land and revenue in Asia Minor. They also gave the emperor the wherewithal to reward favoured individuals. Grants of public lands and tax concessions were given out on an unprecedented scale, the beneficiaries being close relatives of the emperor and individuals who had rendered important services to the state. They were awarded the taxes and/or ownership of important lands in Europe.¹⁵

LANDOWNERS BASED IN CONSTANTINOPLE

These changes in landownership and state finances had an impact on all layers of society and the relations between them. The state and a number of wealthy aristocratic households (*oikoi*) in Constantinople were the leading

¹³ For what follows, see Lefort, 'The Rural Economy', 273, 288; N. Oikonomides, 'The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy', in Laiou, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, III, 1006–7.

¹⁴ Confiscations hitting monasteries and laymen were not uncommon: Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 171–5; J.-C. Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (Xe–XIIIe siècle)', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morrisson, eds, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin II, VIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1991), 208–10; repr. in *idem*, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function* (Aldershot, 2006), no. V. Purchases by the crown or the fisc are attested in 1136: P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *REB* 32 (1974), 115, 121.

¹⁵ K. Smyrlis, 'The Fiscal Revolution of Alexios I Komnenos: Timing, Scope and Motives', in B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet, ed., *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, *TM* 21.2 (2017), 593–610.

landowners in the provinces.¹⁶ It is impossible to estimate the importance of state-controlled lands but they were extensive and especially prominent in the fertile regions of the empire. The estates of the great *oikoi* of Constantinople, which often originated in imperial donations, were to be found in the same areas. As state property grew in the eleventh century, private individuals and ecclesiastical institutions in the capital also benefited indirectly from the greater availability of fiscal land thanks to imperial donations. There exist a few examples of fully documented fortunes. In 1083, Gregory Pakourianos, commander-in-chief of the army, endowed his newly founded monastery near Philippoupolis with properties located in Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia; they included twenty-three estates or villages and seven dependent monasteries. In 1136, John II Komnenos gave the monastery of the Pantokrator sixty estates or villages and eight dependent monasteries as well as numerous other important properties, all situated in regions neighbouring the Marmara and Aegean Seas.¹⁷ Probably the main significance of the growing presence of Constantinople-controlled estates in the countryside was that it limited the expansion of provincial landowners and drained away much of the local surplus to the capital. The existence of these estates connected the provinces with Constantinople in a number of additional ways, all implying an increased control of the countryside by the centre. Transactions between provincials and landowners in the capital could take place in Constantinople.¹⁸ Disputes over lands would also reach the capital.¹⁹ The estates no doubt provided other less visible channels of communication through the administrators (*episkeptitai*, *kouratores*, *pronoetai*, or *oikonomoi*), both those who travelled out to the provinces and those who lived there and formed part of rural society.²⁰

The large grants Alexios I awarded to his close relatives transformed the way people in many areas of the empire related to central authority.²¹ Although this system was devised as a way of providing financial resources, it had far-reaching consequences. The beneficiaries, in particular Alexios' brothers and brothers-in-law, exercised rights only the state normally possessed. Apart from collecting taxes, the administrators or trusted men of these individuals heard and resolved property disputes, established the limits of estates, and apparently also seized private lands. At the same time, the

¹⁶ Cf. the remarks of Paul Magdalino for the twelfth c.: *Manuel I*, 162–9.

¹⁷ Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 70–1, 83–4. ¹⁸ *Lavra I*, no. 42 (1081).

¹⁹ *Iviron II*, no. 40 (1071).

²⁰ They most often appear in documents concerning the setting of the borders of properties; see for example N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès, 'Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion', *REB* 26 (1968), no. 4. On the administrators of imperial estates, see J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les gestionnaires des biens impériaux: étude sociale (X^e–XII^e siècle)', *TM* 16 (2011) [= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*], 163–204.

²¹ Cf. the discussion of these grants in Lemerle, *Agrarian history*, 209–14 and Smyrlis, 'The Fiscal Revolution of Alexios I'.

authority of fiscal officials did not extend over their properties. Although the emperor could still intervene, much of this happened without any direct reference to his authority.²² These grants thus introduced a certain ambiguity between what was private and what public. This development, however, did not threaten Constantinople's control over the empire's territories nor did it lead to regional fragmentation. It is preferable to speak rather of a multiple central authority.²³ It is worth repeating here that the revolts of the late twelfth century were not led by members of the Komnenian clan holding properties in the provinces but for the most part by locally based powerful individuals.²⁴

THE PROVINCIAL ELITE

What may be called the provincial elite included town and village notables as well as wealthy monasteries founded in the countryside and in provincial towns.²⁵ The town elite was a diverse group including people in state service or bearing imperial titles, as well as a more or less developed church officialdom headed by the bishop. Villages possessed a much more rudimentary elite, one or two priests, maybe a notary, and a few more notables who represented the village or offered testimony in disputes.

How wealthy were provincial landowners? One of the best-documented cases is that of the imperial dignitary Eustathios Boilas, known from the will he made in 1059.²⁶ Born to an affluent Cappadocian family, he migrated to settle on the empire's eastern frontier. He seems before long to have acquired several pieces of land in a region that was largely deserted; some of these properties he bought, others may have been granted to him by the state. He organized them into distinct estates, building a house and a church on the main one. Boilas' landed fortune was respectable but not great. Having at one point comprised nine estates, by 1059 it had diminished to four such properties worth well over 50 pounds of gold. It is impossible to tell how common this type of landowner was in rural Byzantium. At least in the European provinces of the empire most

²² See in particular *Ivion* II, nos 43 (1085), 45 (1090–1094), 50 (1101), 52 (1104); J. Bompaire, ed., *Actes de Xéropotamou* (Paris, 1964), no. 7 (1085). Caesar Nikephoros Melissenos seems to have donated an imperial estate; but the donation was sanctioned by the emperor: N. Oikonomides, ed., *Actes de Docheiariou* (Paris, 1984; hereafter *Docheiariou*), no. 4.

²³ Cf. E. Patlagean, *Un Moyen Âge grec. Byzance, ix^e–xv^e siècle* (Paris, 2007), 383–4.

²⁴ P. Magdalino, 'Constantinople and the *ἔξω χωῖραι* in the time of Balsamon', in N. Oikonomides, ed., *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society* (Athens, 1991), 180–1; repr. in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. X; and *idem*, *Manuel I*, 155.

²⁵ On the provincial town elite see Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 150–60 and, more recently, Haldon, 'Social Elites'.

²⁶ P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 15–63; text on pp. 20–9.

landowners would have been autochthonous and would have resided in towns within well-populated regions.²⁷ The documentary evidence from the eleventh and twelfth centuries concerning Macedonia and the south-eastern Aegean contains some examples of noteworthy provincial landowners. Judging from the properties they alienated to monasteries none of these individuals or families was very powerful.²⁸ It does not seem to be a coincidence that most major donations to monasteries came either from the emperor or from private landowners in the capital.²⁹

The fortune of wealthy provincials must have often resembled that of the *protopapas* Nikephoros of Hierissos, probably one of the richest men of the town at the end of the tenth century.³⁰ He died before 995, but the family remained influential or wealthy for at least two more generations. Their fortune is reasonably well documented. Before 985, Nikephoros sold to Iviron a courtyard (*aule*) with 'many excellent houses' for seven pounds of gold. In 1001, his son, the *kouboukleisios* Stephanos, sold to the same monastery additional properties for four pounds of gold: his father's house with its six barrels or vats in Hierissos as well as two vineyards, a large field of 100 *modioi*, a prairie, a brick factory, and a mill. In 1017, Stephanos donated to his daughter, who had become a nun, a small monastery with a vineyard and three fields. Although it is not impossible that the family owned a consolidated estate, it seems more likely that their fortune consisted of a number of vineyards and large to medium-sized fields located in the region of Hierissos. Apart from the one measuring 100 *modioi*, other fields of 50, 30, 20, and several of 12 *modioi* are attested in their possession. They also held considerable town properties which served as their residence and maybe also as rental shops.³¹ The brick factory and mill provided additional revenue while the six barrels/vats in Nikephoros' house may point to the sale of wine.

Monastic landowners are much better known than lay ones, the best documented being certain Athonite establishments. A number of these monasteries

²⁷ Cf. M.J. Angold, 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities in the Later Byzantine Empire', in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1984), 237; D. Jacoby, 'Les états latins en Roumanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204–1350 environ)', in *XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports* (Athens, 1976), I.3, 7; repr. in *idem, Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIII^e au XV^e siècle—peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), no. I.

²⁸ Some examples: *Iviron II*, no. 39 (1071): Psellos; *Docheiariou*, no. 3 (1112): Bourion/Rasopoles; E. Branouse (ed.), *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της μονής Πάτμου. Α', Αυτοκρατορικά* (Athens, 1980), nos 2 and 3 (1079): Kaballoures and Skenoures.

²⁹ The most striking example being that of the village of Radolibos given to Iviron by Kale Pakouriane; in 1103, the village was inhabited by 122 peasant families: *Iviron II*, no. 51.

³⁰ On the family of Nikephoros and their fortune: *Iviron I*, 131–2. In 982, Nikephoros' *signon* was among the first of those placed by 74 inhabitants of Hierissos on an act of guaranty: *Iviron I*, no. 4.

³¹ Cf. M. Kaplan, 'Villes et campagnes à Byzance du VI^e au XII^e siècle: aspects économiques et sociaux', in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali* (Spoleto, 2009), 518.

possessed important landed fortunes. The prestige of Mt Athos, which enjoyed imperial favour from the tenth century, grew in the eleventh, especially after the monasteries of Asia Minor entered a period of decline following the Turkish conquest. It is doubtful whether any other provincial establishment would have been more prosperous than the leading Athonite monasteries, Lavra and Iviron. Much of their wealth originated in imperial donations of properties that were already monastic. Iviron may have been the richer of the two, possessing towards the end of the eleventh century twenty-three estates in Macedonia; they had a surface area of more than 100,000 *modioi* and included more than 200 dependent peasants (*paroikoi*).³² This was a great fortune that few laymen of the provinces could have matched.

The provincial elite was expanding its landownership from the ninth century and most clearly in the tenth. Indeed, these were the people and institutions primarily targeted by the legislation of the Macedonians trying to curb land acquisitions by the 'powerful'. By the eleventh century, it seems that there were areas where expansion could only proceed at the expense of other more or less affluent landowners, most peasant land having already been absorbed by landowners' estates. We can see this process in the parts of Macedonia documented by the Athonite archives. While disputes with village communes or peasants subside as we move forward in time, fights with other landowners, bishoprics, monasteries, or town dwellers as a group continue unabated.³³ There is little doubt, however, that the greatest competition came from the state itself, which possessed superior financial and legal means. Its increased interest in the land, from around the turn of the eleventh century, must have limited considerably the room for expansion of all other landowners. The confiscations under Alexios I certainly affected rural landowners more than anything had previously. The monastery of Iviron lost almost half its fortune.³⁴

The paucity of information coming from the twelfth century makes it difficult to follow the evolution of the rural elite's landownership. Even the usually well-documented fortune of the Athonites remains in the shadow until the second half of the thirteenth century when the documents show a significant degree of continuity in the property of several monasteries. The limited

³² On the properties of Lavra and Iviron, see Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 47–8, 52–4. On the *paroikoi* of Iviron, see *Iviron* II, 33. The monastery of Vatopedi, which during the eleventh c. competed with Iviron for the second rank in Mt Athos after Lavra, seems to have been much less wealthy, owning five estates in 1080: J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, and C. Giros, eds, *Actes de Vatopédi I, des origines à 1329* (Paris, 2001), 9, 12.

³³ Disputes with peasants or villages: *Iviron* I, no. 9 (995); N. Oikonomidès, ed., *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), no. 1 (1056). Disputes with other great landowners or towns: *Iviron* I, nos 10 (996), 27 (1042); *Iviron* II, nos 31 (1056), 34 (1062), 40 (1071); J. Lefort, ed., *Actes d'Esphigménou* (Paris, 1973), no. 4 (1078).

³⁴ *Iviron* II, 27–31.

evidence we have on laymen indicates that landownership continued to be of importance to town dwellers. Significantly, the imperial privileges awarded to towns in the thirteenth century primarily concern the inhabitants' land and its exemption from taxes; in some cases, commercial privileges are also included.³⁵

Of course, landownership was not the unique source of the provincial elite's wealth. The growth of the Byzantine economy in the eleventh century was based not only on the expansion of agricultural production but also on manufacture and trade, both of which were largely based in provincial towns. The most interesting aspect of this is that significant new production centres emerged in towns such as Thebes and Corinth, bringing into question Constantinople's monopoly. Equally important is the appearance of middle-range finished products of which the consumers would be the growing provincial elite.³⁶ No doubt, wealthy locals were the main force behind, and beneficiaries from, the expansion of manufacture and trade seen in some places.³⁷ Additional income came from the increasingly valuable urban properties they exploited directly or rented. These economic activities offered an alternative to landownership as a means of enrichment, all the more so because territorial expansion was growing harder. Certainly, the increased autonomy of provincial towns noted by scholarship for the eleventh and twelfth centuries is connected with the elite's greater prosperity. Within the limits set by the tight grip of Constantinople over the empire's productive lands, the assertiveness of provincial towns became more pronounced in the twelfth century. It is from this century that we have the first clear evidence of the award of imperial privileges to cities.³⁸ The apparently more extensive thirteenth-century privileges are best understood as a further step in the long process of emancipation of provincial towns from Constantinople.

THE PEASANTRY

By the end of the eleventh century, a large proportion of the peasantry depended on private landowners, either because they were their tenants or because their village or taxes had been conceded to them by the state. All these

³⁵ On these privileges, see E. Patlagean, 'Les immunités des Thessaloniciens', in *Εὐφροσύνη. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998), II, 591–601; D. Kyritses, 'The "Common Chrysobulls" of Cities and the Notion of Property in Late Byzantium', *Symmeikta* 13 (1999), 229–43.

³⁶ On the evolution of the economy in this period, see most recently A.E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), ch. 4.

³⁷ Cf. Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 129–30; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 156–9.

³⁸ Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 151; Patlagean, 'Les immunités', 598.

peasants were now called *paroikoi*, a term no longer reserved for the landless tenants.³⁹ Many peasants, perhaps the majority, remained directly subjected to the fisc and thus independent from private lords. Their numbers, however, were constantly diminishing as the concession of peasants to private beneficiaries continued and accelerated with the expansion of the *pronoia* in the twelfth century. The scholarship of the last decades has tried to present a more nuanced image of the condition of the *paroikos* than the traditional pessimistic one. With regard to tenants, in particular, it has been pointed out that one should distinguish between their juridical and their economic situation. A tenant with a pair of oxen would be better off than a landowning peasant with one or no ox.⁴⁰ It has also been argued that, although a tenant peasant's rent was normally twice as high as a landowning peasant's tax for the same amount of land, tax-exempt landlords may have offered reduced rates in order to attract settlers; at the same time, *paroikoi* would have been protected from the exactions of tax officials.⁴¹ According to a somewhat less optimistic view, although tenants had to part with a greater portion of their surplus than landowning peasants, the expansion of the economy and the increased demand for agricultural produce translated into better living standards for them as well.⁴²

Even if it is no longer possible to equate uncritically the condition of the *paroikos* with impoverishment, it is hard to overlook the fact that landlords tended to exploit their dependent peasants economically. And one should not underestimate the significance of the social and legal inferiority of *paroikoi* vis-à-vis independent peasants. Landlords of the eleventh and twelfth centuries sometimes found *paroikoi* worthy of compassion and care, condemning abusive increases in rent or excessive labour services (*angareiai*), statements which suggest that such behaviour was not uncommon.⁴³ The solicitude of emperor Alexios I for the oppression of the *paroikoi* by their landlords probably reflects the concerns of society at large.⁴⁴ Tax officials could act arbitrarily and exact heavy taxes, but it was landlords or more often their local

³⁹ Lefort, 'The Rural Economy', 238.

⁴⁰ M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol* (Paris, 1992), 271–2.

⁴¹ N. Oikonomides, 'Η "Πείρα" περί παροίκων', in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορώνο* (Rethymno, 1986), I, 232–6; repr. in *idem*, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade* (Hampshire, 1992), no. XIII; *idem*, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)* (Athens, 1996), 214–16; Lefort, 'The Rural Economy', 237–8.

⁴² Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 105–8, 111–12.

⁴³ P. Gautier, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate', *REB* 39 (1981), 77, ll. 980–6; L. Petit, 'Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)', *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 56, ll. 9–19 and 58, l. 34–59, l. 5. Cf. P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos', *REB* 42 (1984), 35, ll. 248–56 and 99, ll. 1331–6.

⁴⁴ A chrysobull of 1086 confirming the donation of a village to Leo Kephala contains a clause asking the landlord to take good care of the *paroikoi* and not to expel them from the village: *Lavra* I, no. 48, ll. 23–4. See also below the case of the *paroikos* Lazaros.

intendants who were constantly present exercising extensive authority over the peasants. The state of being a dependent peasant, the *paroikia*, is described by archbishop Theophylact of Ochrid as a yoke that at least one *paroikos* was keen to throw off.⁴⁵ In principle, *paroikoi* could not leave their landlords' estates. Private landowners would petition the emperor who would order his officials to restore to them the *paroikoi* who had settled elsewhere.⁴⁶ In the case of imperial estates this principle was no doubt scrupulously enforced. Within their estates, landlords seem to have been able to move their tenants around as they pleased, resettling whole villages if this suited their needs.⁴⁷ They could assign them any task they wanted.⁴⁸ *Paroikoi* were expected to fear their lords.⁴⁹ Certain landlords punished or expelled *paroikoi* for crimes or disobedience.⁵⁰ This evidence does not mean that *paroikoi* could not have their cases heard by state or ecclesiastical courts (see below the case of Lazaros). It does indicate, nevertheless, that powerful landlords often exercised informal authority over their dependent peasants. Besides taxation and justice, landlords sometimes replaced the state also with regard to the defence of the country. From the late eleventh century we see landlords constructing or owning castles or towers in their estates where the peasants would take refuge at times of danger.⁵¹ At least in eleventh-century Macedonia private fortifications seem to have been relatively rare becoming more common in the following centuries.⁵²

Given the prevalence of landowners' estates in the countryside, given the economic and legal domination of the lords over their *paroikoi*, and accepting that the rural population was growing, it is at first sight surprising that, instead of declining, the status of *paroikoi* seems to have improved from the eleventh century. According to a judge in Constantinople, tenants who had rented land

⁴⁵ P. Gautier, ed., *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonike, 1986), 485.

⁴⁶ *Iviron* II, no. 33 (1061); *Lavra* I, no. 64 (1162).

⁴⁷ Petit, 'Kosmosotira', 52, ll. 20–1; 72, ll. 10–13.

⁴⁸ Gautier, 'Pakourianos', 111, l. 1539–113, l. 1543; 113, ll. 1567–9, 1573–5; Petit, 'Kosmosotira', 66, l. 41–67, l. 6; 72, ll. 13–21.

⁴⁹ Wilson and Darrouzès, 'Hiéra-Xérochoraphion', no. 9 (1157; on the date: Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 165).

⁵⁰ The most explicit source on punishment is the *typikon* of the monastery of Kosmosoteira (1152), which explains how the *hegoumenos* ought to administer justice among *paroikoi*, imposing physical or financial penalties in the case of arson: Petit, 'Kosmosotira', 67, ll. 6–20. Physical punishment is also mentioned in *Patmos* II, no. 55 (1097–1109). The expulsion of disobedient *paroikoi* was apparently common; see above n. 44 and Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, VI, 68 (1091); Petit, 'Kosmosotira', 72, ll. 24–9.

⁵¹ Gautier, 'Pakourianos', 35–9, 113; *Iviron* II, no. 52 (1104), ll. 184, 434–7; *Patmos* II, no. 52 (1089); Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, VI, 147.

⁵² K. Smyrlis, 'Estate Fortifications in Late Byzantine Macedonia: The Athonite Evidence', in F. Daim and J. Drauschke, eds, *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im byzantinischen Reich* (Mainz, 2016), 196–7.

for more than thirty years could not be expelled from it.⁵³ We see this principle applied in the late twelfth century on an estate of the monastery of Pantokrator near Smyrna.⁵⁴ Moreover, whereas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the number of days of *angareiai paroikoi* had to offer seems to have been determined by the landlord, by the thirteenth century state officials recorded the peasants' labour service obligations—something which may have limited arbitrary action on the part of landlords.⁵⁵

One reason why the condition of *paroikoi* did not sink to a low level was economic. To some extent, competition between landlords trying to attract or maintain the workforce on their estates meant that their demands or oppression could not become too heavy. In practice, it would often have been difficult to stop *paroikoi* from fleeing and there must have been significant peasant mobility. The way private landowners tried to counter this mobility, by applying to the emperor for enforcement, shows the limits of their power. The other reason has to do with the persistence of a relatively strong state that set rules and guaranteed the validity of the law. A court decision defined the conditions of tenancy and, later, the fisc started recording the days of *angareiai* owed by *paroikoi*. Certainly a vast distance separated landlords from their *paroikoi* in social terms. *De facto*, lords enjoyed great authority over their peasants, judging and punishing them, or treating them in demeaning ways. But in spite of these serious reductions in status, *paroikoi* were still considered free and legally competent persons. In this sense, the fact that the majority of the rural population became dependent peasants probably contributed to improving the status of the *paroikos*.⁵⁶ In the eleventh century and later, *paroikoi*, indistinguishable from independent peasants, offer testimony in disputes, witness acts, and place their signatures or *signa* at the end of documents, next to those of town notables or members of the high aristocracy.⁵⁷

A remarkable *paroikos* of the late eleventh or early twelfth century apparently understood and made full use of the state's power in order to oppose his landlord and improve his lot. 'Bulgarian' Lazaros was a *paroikos* of the archbishopric of Ochrid who longed for freedom and distinction according to his landlord, Theophylact, our only source on the affair. Although much of it is obscure, it seems that Lazaros assisted fiscal officials by revealing the archbishop's tax evasion in a village he had recently acquired from the fisc by virtue of an exchange. According to Theophylact, Lazaros received clothes

⁵³ I. and P. Zepos, eds, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931), IV, 15.2–3 and discussion in Oikonomides, 'H "Πείρα" περι παροίκων', 238–9.

⁵⁴ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 184–5 (1196).

⁵⁵ Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 106, n. 117; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 182.

⁵⁶ Cf. Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 107.

⁵⁷ *Iviron* II, nos 35 (1062); 40 (1071); 43 (1085); Wilson and Darrouzès, 'Hiéra-Xérochoraphion', no. 4; *Patmos* II, no. 53 (1089).

that were ‘nobler [*eleutheriotera*] and cleaner than his state’ and other gratifications from the fiscal officials; he may have also hoped to acquire the village. The conflict became serious, Lazaros proving a redoubtable opponent of the prelate. No doubt thanks to the backing of the officials, Lazaros was received by Alexios I himself, before whom he accused Theophylact of burning his house in revenge for his supporting the fisc against his landlord. Lazaros’ claim is said to have moved Alexios to sympathy for the peasant. The last we hear is that a tax collector was apparently planning to send Lazaros a second time to the emperor with a delegation of ‘rebel’ villagers to demand the restitution of the village to the fisc.⁵⁸ Although this case may be exceptional, it does reveal the limits of landlord power and shows that *paroikoi*, individually or collectively, could resist their landlord by appealing to the imperial administration and justice.

The fact that the village commune retained some of its competences even after the transformation of villages into private estates helped make *paroikoi* less vulnerable. As has been rightly noted, the loss of the fiscal function of the village caused by this transformation did not destroy the communal organization of the peasants.⁵⁹ In some important ways little was different in villages inhabited by *paroikoi* from communes of independent peasants. Village notables continued to represent the commune as a whole, playing a significant role in dispute settlements.⁶⁰ In documents of the late eleventh and twelfth century, we see *paroikoi* acting in the same way as independent peasants had done earlier: on their own initiative they lay claim to properties belonging to great landowners.⁶¹

CONCLUSION

Estates controlled by the state and private landowners dominated the countryside by the end of the eleventh century, although there must have been

⁵⁸ Most of the information comes from Gautier, *Theophylacte*, nos 96, 98; no. 129 seems to refer to the accusations of tax evasion made against Theophylact. The case of Lazaros is also discussed in A. Harvey, ‘The Land and the Taxation in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos: The Evidence of Theophylakt of Ochrid’, *REB* 51 (1993), 145–6.

⁵⁹ N. Oikonomides, ‘La fiscalité byzantine et la communauté villageoise au XI^e s.’, in *Septième Congrès international d’études du sud-est européen (Thessalonique, 29 août–4 septembre 1994)* (Athens, 1994), I, 101–2; cf. Lefort, ‘The Rural Economy’, 279–3.

⁶⁰ Apart from the delegation of villagers accompanying Lazaros, see also: *Patmos* II, no. 53 (1089), 200–1 (*ἐνυποληπτότεροι*); *Iviron* II, no. 51 (1103), l. 89 (*ἀξιόπιστοι τε καὶ εὐνυπόληπτοι γέροντες*), l. 92 (*προεστώς*). Cf. J. Lefort, ‘Les villages de Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge (X^e–XIV^e siècle)’, in *idem, Société rurale et histoire du paysage à Byzance* (Paris, 2006), 498–9.

⁶¹ *Patmos* II, nos 52 (1089), ll. 107ε–147; 53 (1089), 55 (1097–1109); *Iviron* II, no. 51 (1103), ll. 85–95; Wilson and Darrouzès, ‘Hiéra-Xérochoraphion’, no. 9 (1157).

significant geographical variation that cannot be fully understood. There certainly continued to exist plenty of small and medium-sized plots, which were not incorporated into estates. Besides the land belonging to great landowners, land was also owned by less powerful individuals, ranging from well-off town inhabitants to modest peasants. Wealthy town dwellers probably controlled much of the land surrounding their towns. The increased interest of the state in the land during the eleventh century limited the room for expansion of provincial landowners, probably more effectively than the tenth-century legislation had done. With few exceptions, these landowners do not appear to have been able to match the powerful lay and ecclesiastical *oikoi* of the capital in wealth. Towns throughout the empire prospered in the eleventh century thanks to the expansion of the agrarian economy and, in some places, thanks to the growth of manufacture and trade. Nevertheless, the importance of manufacture and trade was nowhere such that it would have permitted the emergence of a truly powerful elite capable of challenging central authority. Wealth in Byzantium still primarily came from the land that was tightly controlled by Constantinople. This did not change under the Komnenoi when large estates were awarded to the emperor's close relatives. In economic as well as legal and social terms, peasants depending on landlords were often worse off than free peasants. Landlords replaced the state to a certain extent within their lands. They collected the taxes, exercised judicial authority, and sometimes they even ensured the defence of a locality. Nevertheless, the fiscal and political interests of the state severely limited the power of landlords. Many landowners were not very wealthy and even those who were powerful did not possess boundless rights over their lands. Tax exemptions were controlled by state officials and were revocable. Confiscation was not rare. The limited power of the landlords, the pervading force of central authority and the persistence of a legal tradition guaranteed by the state restricted the degradation in status of *paroikoi*.⁶²

⁶² The present chapter was submitted for publication in 2012 and last revised in 2015. Two studies dealing with the rural society appeared too late to be taken into consideration here: R. Estangüi Gómez, 'Richesses et propriété paysannes à Byzance (XIe–XIVe siècle)', in O. Delouis, S. Métivier, and P. Pagès, eds, *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan* (Paris, 2016), 171–212; R. Estangüi Gómez and M. Kaplan, 'La société rurale au XIe siècle: une réévaluation', in Flusin and Cheynet, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin*, 531–60.

Before and After the Eleventh Century AD in the Territory of Sagalassos

Settlement Evolution

Eva Kaptijn and Marc Waelkens

INTRODUCTION

The ancient city of Sagalassos, located in the Taurus Mountains in south-western Turkey, has been under excavation since 1990 by a team from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, until 2013 headed by M. Waelkens and since then by J. Poblome. During the first decade of the project, the excavations showed that Sagalassos was a flourishing provincial town during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods and ceased to exist around 650 AD after a series of catastrophes. Recent excavations have altered this perspective and today it is clear that habitation, although on a greatly reduced scale, continued at Sagalassos until some point in the thirteenth century.¹

From the beginning, surface reconnaissance was an integral part of the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.² During the 1990s survey work was conducted in a non-intensive fashion, over the entire 1428 km² territory of Sagalassos.³ During these years, the team visited sites already known from

¹ M. Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of', in C. Smith, ed., *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York, in press).

² The outline of the Roman imperial territory of Sagalassos is depicted as a black line on Figure 4.2. The dotted line in the south represents the Hellenistic border.

³ M. Waelkens, 'The 1993 Survey in the District South and East of Sagalassos', in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, eds, *Sagalassos III. Report on the Fourth Excavation Campaign of 1993*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* (Leuven, 1995), 11–22; M. Waelkens, E. Paulissen, H. Vanhaverbeke, Ö. İlham, B. De Cupere, H.A. Ekinci, P.M. Vermeersch, J. Poblome, and R. Degeest, 'The 1994 and 1995 Surveys in the Territory of Sagalassos', in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome, eds, *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* (Leuven, 1997), 11–102; M. Waelkens,

earlier investigations, as well as remains discovered by local villagers and locations expected to yield up archaeological remains, like hilltops and springs. These investigations have revealed a wealth of information which was analysed and made accessible by Vanhaverbeke.⁴ This work provides the basis of our knowledge on settlement evolution in the territory of Sagalassos.

From 1999 this non-intensive survey was followed up with intensive surveys—first in the Ağlasun valley in the immediate vicinity of Sagalassos (1999–2006)⁵ and since 2008 in outlying valleys in the territory, i.e. the Bereket valley (2008), the valley of Bağsaray (2009),⁶ the Plain of Burdur (2010–12),⁷ and the Dereköy highlands (2016–17)⁸. These intensive surveys provide a more detailed perspective than can be gained from the broader non-intensive survey. Through intensive survey it is possible to obtain information on the character and size of sites, which is unattainable through non-intensive survey.

The combination of the results of more than twenty years of excavation, non-intensive and intensive survey makes it possible to document the evolution of Byzantine settlement in the territory of Sagalassos. The eleventh century AD acts as focal point in this article. However, the nature of the data does not allow discussion to be restricted to the eleventh century. Survey

E. Paulissen, H. Vanhaverbeke, J. Reyniers, J. Poblome, R. Degeest, W. Viaene, J. Deckers, B. De Cupere, W. Van Neer, H.A. Ekinci, and M.O. Erbay, 'The 1996 and 1997 Surveys in the Territory of Sagalassos', in M. Waelkens and L. Loots, eds, *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 11 (Leuven, 2000), 17–216.

⁴ H. Vanhaverbeke and M. Waelkens, *The Chora of Sagalassos. The Evolution of the Settlement Pattern from Prehistoric Until Recent Times*, Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology 5 (Turnhout, 2003).

⁵ H. Vanhaverbeke, F. Martens, and M. Waelkens, 'Another View on Late Antiquity: Sagalassos (SW Anatolia), its Suburbium and its Countryside in Late Antiquity', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 141 (2007), 611–48.

⁶ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens, *Chora of Sagalassos*.

⁷ E. Kaptijn, R. Vandam, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens, 'Inhabiting the Plain of Burdur. Results from the 2010 and 2011 Sagalassos Project Survey', *News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas* 10 (2012), 142–7; M. Waelkens, E. Kaptijn, K. Dirix, R. Vandam, P. Degryse, P. Muchez, and J. Poblome, 'Sagalassos 2010 Yüzy Araştırması/The 2010 Survey Season in the Territory of Sagalassos', in A. Özme, ed., *XXIX. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 23–28 Mayıs 2011, Malatya*, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayın, 153/2 (Ankara, 2012), 185–204; R. Vandam, 'The Burdur Plain Survey (SW Turkey): In Search of the Middle Chalcolithic (5500–4200 BC)', in S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon, eds, *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries (2011–2014)*, I (Cambridge, 2015), 278–97; R. Vandam and E. Kaptijn, 'Living in the Burdur Plain. A Diachronic Reconstruction of Human Subsistence (6500–200 BC)', in H. Metin, B.A. Polat Becks, R. Becks, and M. Fırat, eds, *Pisidian Essays in Honour of Hacı Ali Ekinci* (Istanbul, 2015), 165–75.

⁸ R. Vandam, P.T. Willett, and J. Poblome, 'Living on the Margins. First Results from the Dereköy Archaeological Survey of the Sagalassos Project in the Western Taurus Mountains', in S.R. Steadman and G. McMahon, eds, *The Archaeology of Anatolia: Recent Discoveries (2015–2016)*, II (Cambridge, 2017), 321–46; R. Vandam, P.T. Willett, and J. Poblome, 'Up in the Hills: The 2016 Sagalassos Archaeological Survey Results', *News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas* 15 (2017), 224–32.

material can rarely be dated precisely and none of the surveyed sites can be dated uniquely to the eleventh century. Furthermore, the social organization of the eleventh century in the territory of Sagalassos can only be analysed if it is examined in the light of what went before and what came after. This article will, therefore, discuss the evolution of habitation during the Byzantine period, starting in the seventh century AD, with the decline of Roman imperial urban society, and ending in the later thirteenth century, when the last Sagalassians abandoned the site, by then located in Selçuk territory.

BYZANTINE REMAINS IN THE TERRITORY OF SAGALASSOS BEFORE 2000

The territory of Sagalassos as well as the region of Pisidia as a whole was until recently considered to be as good as devoid of Byzantine remains later than AD 650. As late as the year 2000, there were only two settlements known in the province of Pisidia which could be dated to the Byzantine period.⁹ By 2000, twelve seasons of excavations at Sagalassos had not revealed a single sherd or architectural fragment which could be dated after the middle of the seventh century.¹⁰ This led to the conclusion that Sagalassos ceased to exist around AD 650, as a result of a whole set of adversities. They included the plague which ravaged south-western Turkey in AD 541/542, an earthquake which destroyed large parts of the city, previously dated around AD 518 but recently attributed to the years around AD 500,¹¹ and a second earthquake, at first assumed to have occurred around the middle of the seventh century AD, but now dated to AD 602–610 or shortly after, as well as climatic change deleterious to agriculture and Arab incursions from the middle of the seventh to the early eighth century AD.¹²

⁹ S. Mitchell, 'The Settlement of Pisidia in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period: Methodological Problems', in K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder, and P. Soustal, eds, *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraums*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 283, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7 (Vienna, 2000), 139–52, at 143.

¹⁰ M. Waelkens, 'Sagalassos und sein Territorium. Eine interdisziplinäre Methodologie zur historischen Geographie einer kleinasiatischen Metropole', in Belke, Hild, Koder, and Soustal, *Byzanz als Raum*, 261–88, at 271.

¹¹ Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

¹² Waelkens, 'Sagalassos und sein Territorium', 270–1; M. Waelkens, 'Die Forschungen in Sagalassos: ein Versuch zu einer interdisziplinären Archäologie', *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 17 (2002), 63–82, at 79; J. Bakker, 'Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics in a Mountainous Environment in the Territory of Sagalassos, Southwest Turkey (Late Roman till Present)' (PhD, Leuven, 2012), 187; I. Jacobs and M. Waelkens, "'Christians do not differ from other people". The Down-to-Earth Religious Stance of Late Antique Sagalassos (Pisidia)', in W. Amelung, ed., *Die*

For the territory of Sagalassos, the information available in the year 2000 suggested a very similar development to that assumed then for the city. While many sites had been discovered with remains from the late imperial/early Byzantine period (AD 300–610), very few settlements post-dated AD 650.¹³ This decrease in the number of sites was interpreted as ‘suggesting a serious abandonment of the area after the middle of the seventh century AD, probably caused by natural catastrophes and by the Arab raids’.¹⁴

The absence of significant archaeological remains from the Byzantine period was problematic in the light of written evidence. An important document deals with the province of Pisidia just before the supposed abandonment of the region: Justinian’s *Novella* from AD 535/536 advocates installation of a praetor with civil and military powers; in it the emperor declares, ‘We want to make a beginning with this arrangement in Pisidia... because we are persuaded at this time that that province needs a more powerful and sterner government. For *the villages therein are large and populous*, and they often refuse the payment of public tribute.’¹⁵ The description of large and populous villages tallies with the material evidence of large archaeological sites throughout the province.¹⁶

A reference to Sagalassos from the tenth century was hard to square with archaeological reality as it was perceived in the late 1990s. In his *De Thematibus* Constantine Porphyrogenitus refers to the *polis* Sagalassos when describing the border of the Kibyrrhaiot theme.¹⁷ The use of Sagalassos as a point of reference, three centuries after the city had supposedly ceased to exist, would be hard to explain, unless the name Sagalassos had been inherited by a new settlement somewhere in the territory. At that time, it was indeed hypothesized that what remained of the population of Sagalassos had moved to the site of the modern village of Ağlasun, located in the valley below, where post-Roman remains had been discovered.¹⁸

A second set of documents also casts doubt on the thesis that Sagalassos was completely abandoned in the middle of the seventh century. In the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, lists of episcopal sees, Sagalassos is recorded, together with

Christianisierung Kleinasiens in der Spätantike, Asia Minor Studien 87 (Bonn, 2017), 175–98, at 176; Waelkens, ‘Sagalassos, Archaeology of’.

¹³ Waelkens et al., ‘1996 and 1997 Surveys’, 212.

¹⁴ Waelkens et al., ‘1996 and 1997 Surveys’, 212.

¹⁵ Justinian, *Novella* xxiv.I, trans. F.H. Blume (University of Wyoming website, 2009).

¹⁶ H. Vanhaverbeke, ‘The Chora of Sagalassos. The Evolution of the Settlement Pattern from Prehistoric until Recent Times’, in Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens, *The Chora of Sagalassos*, 149–326.

¹⁷ Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 142. However, the reliability of this source may be questionable: I. Jacobs, ‘Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos’, in A. Gnasso, E.E. Intagliata, T.J. MacMaster, and B.N. Morris, eds, *The Long Seventh Century. Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition* (Oxford, 2015), 163–98, at 186.

¹⁸ Waelkens, ‘Sagalassos und sein Territorium’, 271.

thirty-five other Pisidian, Pamphylian, and Lycaonian settlements, as a bishopric.¹⁹ These lists range in time from AD 640 to AD 1200/1250, a period during which Sagalassos was supposed, in the year 2000, to be non-existent at its current site. While it was acknowledged that the episcopal lists were not always reliable—because of some indiscriminate copying of older lists, shown by recurrent writing errors²⁰—it remained hard to explain—unless the see of the bishop had moved to Ağlasun—how Sagalassos still appeared in these lists at the very time when it seemed to have disappeared from the archaeological record, and how a non-existent bishopric was subsequently copied into later lists for over half a millennium.

In his excellent article on settlement pattern, published in 2000, Stephen Mitchell pointed to a methodological explanation for the absence of any archaeologically visible remains from the early and middle Byzantine periods. Most archaeological work in this region had focused on the Hellenistic and Roman periods and had been oriented towards important and often obtrusive (urban) settlements. The common practice during these periods of using limestone or even marble as building material had generated a very specific sort of easily discernible material culture. Most archaeological surveys before 2000 were of a non-intensive nature and had, consciously or unconsciously, focused on the urbanized Hellenistic and Roman landscape. Mitchell suggested that, after the middle of the seventh century, the settlement pattern changed into one with a rural character and that archaeologists were thereby presented with a type of material residue which escaped their attention but which was nevertheless there.²¹ In his own words, ‘we are able to identify most of the listed Pisidian communities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods *precisely because they were cities*’.²² The non-urban Byzantine settlements had not been identified, because ‘an archaeologist does not find what she does not seek’.²³

NEW RESULTS AND CHANGING INTERPRETATIONS

The excavations of the summer of 2000 changed our understanding of the development of Sagalassos after the Roman period dramatically. The first

¹⁹ Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 144. During the ninth century, Sagalassos had even become the second highest bishopric of the ecclesiastical province of Pisidia and its bishops participated in various synods until the eleventh/twelfth century. Bishops of Sagalassos are recorded from the late fourth century on: K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 7 (Wien, 1009), 368–9; J. Poblome, P. Talloen, and E. Kaptijn, ‘Sagalassos’, in P. Niewöhner, ed., *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks* (Oxford, 2017), 302–11, at 306 and 309; Waelkens, ‘Sagalassos, Archaeology of’.

²⁰ Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 144.

²¹ Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 146.

²² Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 145.

²³ Mitchell, ‘Settlement of Pisidia’, 145.

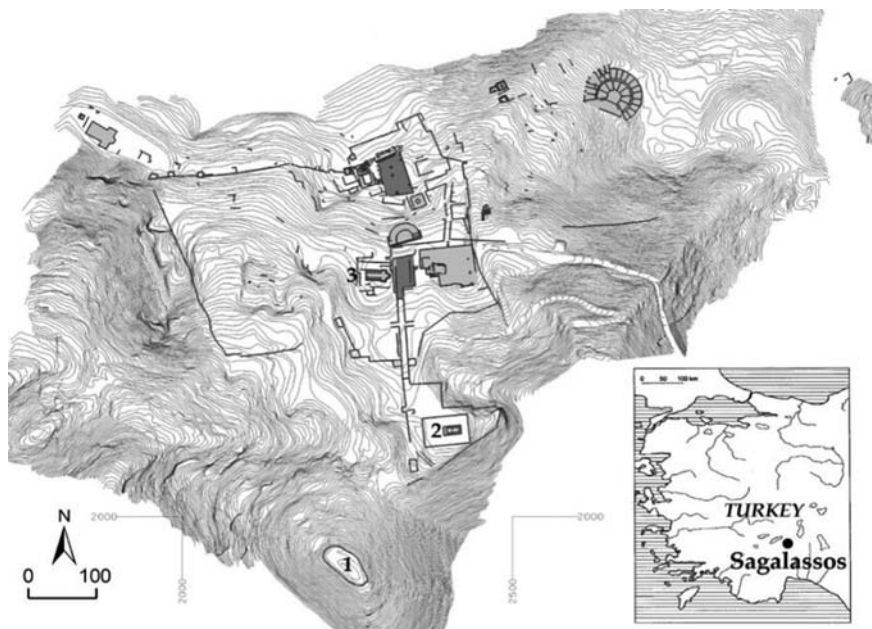


Figure 4.1 Map of Sagalassos with Alexander's Hill (1), the former temple of Antoninus Pius (2), and the former temple of Apollo Klarios (3)

excavations took place on Alexander's Hill, a steep hill directly in front of the city (see Figure 4.1). In the campaigns of 2000, 2001, and 2003, material was unearthed which, for the first time in the history of the Sagalassos project, gave insights into the period from the seventh to the thirteenth century AD.²⁴ Further remains were discovered in 2003 and 2004 in the precinct of the former Temple of Antoninus Pius,²⁵ while remains from the same period were excavated in and around the former Temple of Apollo Klarios in the years 2005–7.²⁶ In the last decade these three sites have jointly revealed evidence

²⁴ Poblome in M. Waelkens, 'The 2000 Excavation and Restoration Season at Sagalassos', in K. Olşen, F. Bayram, A. Özme, H. Dönmez, N. Güder, and N. Toy, eds, *XXIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Ankara 28 Mayıs–2 Haziran 2001* (Ankara, 2002), 11–28, at 20; J. Poblome and P. Talloen in M. Waelkens, 'Report on the 2003 Excavation and Restoration Campaign at Sagalassos', in K. Olşen, H. Dönmez, and A. Özme, eds, *XXVI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Konya 24–28 Mayıs 2004* (Ankara, 2005), 421–43, at 428–9.

²⁵ Talloen, '2003 Excavations', 427–8; P. Talloen, J. Poblome and M. Waelkens in M. Waelkens, 'Report on the 2004 Excavation and Restoration Campaign at Sagalassos', in K. Olşen, H. Dönmez, and A. Özme, eds, *XXVII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Antalya 30 Mayıs–3 Haziran 2005* (Ankara, 2006), 271–86, at 277–8.

²⁶ Talloen in M. Waelkens, 'Report on the 2005 Excavation and Restoration Campaign at Sagalassos', in B. Koral, H. Dönmez, and M. Akpınar, eds, *XXVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 29 Mayıs–2 Haziran 2006, Çanakkale* (Ankara, 2007), 317–40, at 327–30; I. Jacobs in M. Waelkens, 'Report on the 2006 and 2007 Excavation and Restoration Activities at Tepe Düzen and at

of habitation from the seventh to some point in the thirteenth century. Previously, the intensive surveys by F. Martens had identified already significant quantities of seventh-century surface material, mainly in the western part of the city, and extending into the upper reaches of the Ağlasun Valley.²⁷ The excavations also recognized continuity of post-earthquake occupation at multiple locations around the Upper Agora and in the Urban Mansion until the mid-seventh century.²⁸ Consequently, at least in the seventh century, the local community living among the ruins may have been more sizeable than previously assumed.²⁹

These recent excavations combined with the intensive urban survey results not only changed our perception of the occupation history of Sagalassos and extended its existence by several hundred years, but provided equally important information about the material culture of the Byzantine period in the region. The pottery assemblages unearthed at these sites were analysed by Vionis who together with Poblome constructed a ceramic typology for the Early, Middle, and Late Byzantine periods.³⁰ This ceramic typology is extremely important as it makes it possible to identify Byzantine remains in the territory of Sagalassos. Based on the new excavation data Vionis and Vanhaverbeke were able to reanalyse the sites discovered in the extensive survey of the Sagalassian territory undertaken in the 1990s.³¹ This reanalysis revealed that instead of total abandonment, several sites were in existence during the Byzantine period.³² The ability to identify Byzantine ceramics has changed our perception of the settlement pattern of the period completely without the need for any additional fieldwork. Subsequent intensive survey work has

Sagalassos', in H. Dönmez and A. Özme, eds, *XXX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Ankara, 2009), 427–56, at 442–4; Demarsin in *ibid.*, 444–5. An overview of all material remains, post-dating the early seventh-century earthquake, is given in Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

²⁷ J. Poblome, 'Shifting Societal Complexity in Byzantine Asia Minor and Dark Age Pottery', in N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Nodarou, and V. Kilikoglu, eds, *LRCW4, Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: A Market without Frontiers*, BAR International Series 2616 (Oxford, 2014), 623–42, at 631.

²⁸ Jacobs and Waelkens, 'Christians do not differ from other people', 189–90.

²⁹ Jacobs, 'Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos', 164, 189.

³⁰ A.K. Vionis, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens, 'The Hidden Material Culture of the Dark Ages. Early Medieval Ceramics at Sagalassos (Turkey): New Evidence (ca. AD 650–800)', *Anatolian Studies*, 59 (2009), 146–65; A.K. Vionis, J. Poblome, B. De Cupere, and M. Waelkens, 'A Middle-Late Byzantine Pottery Assemblage from Sagalassos. Typo-Chronology and Sociocultural Interpretation', *Hesperia* 79 (2010), 423–64.

³¹ H. Vanhaverbeke, A.K. Vionis, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens, 'What Happened after the 7th Century AD? A Different Perspective on Post-Roman Rural Anatolia', in T. Vorderstrasse and J. Roodenberg, eds, *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia*, PIHANS (Leiden, 2009), 177–90; A.K. Vionis, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens, 'Ceramic Continuity and Daily Life in Medieval Sagalassos, SW Anatolia (ca.650–1250 AD)', in Vorderstrasse and Roodenberg, *Archaeology of the Countryside*, 191–213.

³² Vanhaverbeke et al., 'Archaeology of the Countryside'.

corroborated this revised settlement pattern and provided more detailed information on the character of these sites.³³

REMAINS FROM THE BYZANTINE DARK AGE AT SAGALASSOS

Good Byzantine Dark Age assemblages were uncovered at two locations in Sagalassos. The sanctuary of Antoninus Pius on the southern edge of the city went out of use in the late fourth or early fifth century AD (Figure 4.1). The excavations revealed that after a period of abandonment, during which blocks of the former temple were removed for use as building material elsewhere in the city, there was a first phase of encroachment datable to the fifth century.³⁴ A second phase of encroachment in which a rectilinear row of rooms—interpreted by the excavators as a military construction—was built on the former temple area and was dated to the late fifth and early sixth century.³⁵ Pottery dating from the seventh to eleventh/twelfth centuries was found in stratigraphic layers, although there were few associated architectural remains.³⁶ Recently, it has become clear that a fortified settlement of the *kastron* type occupied this promontory.³⁷ The *kastron* at Sagalassos is very similar to post-Roman fortifications in other towns, e.g. Ephesos, Sardis, Side, Miletos, Patara, and Magnesia ad Maeandrum.³⁸ This site was inhabited with hardly any interruption from the later fourth until the late eleventh century³⁹ and was fortified strongly in the course of the later seventh century, most probably after the Arabs had annihilated the Byzantine fleet in the ‘Battle of the Masts’ near Finike in AD 655.⁴⁰ The *kastron* also housed the see of a bishop, who may even have been involved in the construction of the fortifications.⁴¹ The renovated church on top of Alexander’s Hill, dated to c.AD 1000, should probably be associated with this *kastron* settlement.⁴²

A similar sequence is visible at the Temple of Apollo Klarios, located just west of the lower agora. The temple was abandoned at the end of the fourth

³³ Vanhaverbeke et al., ‘2008+2009 Survey’; Kaptijn et al., ‘Inhabiting the Plain of Burdur’; Waelkens et al., ‘2010 survey’.

³⁴ Talloen et al., ‘2003 Excavations’, 428. ³⁵ Talloen et al., ‘2004 Excavations’, 278.

³⁶ Talloen et al., ‘2004 Excavations’, 278; Vionis et al. ‘Hidden Material’, 150.

³⁷ Waelkens, ‘Sagalassos, Archaeology of’.

³⁸ Jacobs, ‘Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos’, 187.

³⁹ Jacobs, ‘Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos’, 183–5.

⁴⁰ H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historische Klasse 320, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8 (Vienna, 2004), 116; T.E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, 2010), 183.

⁴¹ Jacobs, ‘Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos’, 186.

⁴² Poblome et al., ‘Sagalassos’, 308.

century. The period of abandonment lasted until the second half of the fifth or the early sixth century when it was converted into a Christian tripartite transept basilica.⁴³ South of the church, walls forming one or more rooms were excavated.⁴⁴ Recently it has been concluded that these walls represent a single-roomed structure built at right angles to the basilica's south wall. Built after the sixth century it was probably contemporary with the first phase of the basilica, when it functioned as a *martyrion*. The basilica appears to have been abandoned after suffering serious damage in the earthquake of the early seventh century. It was gradually stripped of its interior decoration until it was renovated twice during the ninth to eleventh centuries.⁴⁵ The pottery assemblages from the church and the area of occupation to the south date from the seventh to eleventh/twelfth centuries.⁴⁶

The excavations at these two locations have produced a corpus of Byzantine Dark Age pottery (AD 610–867). This assemblage shows a clear break from pottery production and food consumption in the preceding Roman period. Instead of the large-scale industrial fine tableware production of the Roman period (the so-called Sagalassos Red Slip Ware), the Byzantine Dark Age pottery consists of rather coarse kitchen wares which were locally produced at household or village level.⁴⁷ The assemblage consists only of vessels related to food production and storage and is characterized by a marked absence of open tablewares for food consumption, transport vessels, and imported fine-wares, items that were all present in the preceding period.⁴⁸ There was a change in the form of cooking vessels, from open casseroles to closed round-bodied pots.⁴⁹ It appears that there was a change in eating habits, from dining with foods served on individual open plates where it could be displayed, to the serving of food in a closed vessel from which each diner took his or her share. Pottery collected from the sites identified in the territory of Sagalassos has the same characteristics.⁵⁰ These changes point to important shifts in the economy, interregional contact, diet, and eating habits of the area. Byzantine Dark Age society in the territory of Sagalassos seems to have been

⁴³ Talloen in Waelkens, 'Report on the 2005 Excavation', 327; Jacobs in Waelkens, 'Report on the 2006 and 2007 Excavation', 442–4. Jacobs and Waelkens, 'Christians do not differ from other people', 180–3.

⁴⁴ Talloen, '2005 Excavations', 329.

⁴⁵ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 306–8.

⁴⁶ Talloen, '2005 Excavations', 329; Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material', 149.

⁴⁷ Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material Culture', 160; J. Poblome, P. Bes, B. De Cupere, V. Lauwers, K. Romanus, A.K. Vionis, and M. Waelkens, 'Sic transit gloria mundi. Does it Really? Wasting Seventh Century AD Sagalassos (SW Turkey)', in S. Menchelli, S. Santoro, M. Pasquinucci, and G. Guiducci, eds, *LRCW3. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean*, BAR International Series 2185 (Oxford, 2010), 791–801.

⁴⁸ Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material Culture', 160.

⁴⁹ Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material Culture', 161.

⁵⁰ The much lower quantities in which these were attested made it impossible to draw similar conclusions on the basis of the material from the territory alone.

localized in outlook, focusing on the village economy and without large-scale interregional contacts or industrial production.

BYZANTINE DARK AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORY OF SAGALASSOS

Better understanding of Byzantine material culture, especially the ceramic repertoire, has led to the conclusion that the territory of Sagalassos was by no means completely abandoned after the early seventh century. Nevertheless, in large parts of the ancient territory we see a sharp reduction in the number of sites and decrease in the size of settlements. During the Early and Middle Imperial period (25 BC–AD 300) and the Late Imperial/Early Byzantine period (AD 300–610) population density was very high.⁵¹ Based on the extensive survey and the earlier intensive surveys in areas further away from Sagalassos, the number of sites is reduced by a factor of five after AD 650 (see Figure 4.2). However, recent modelling of human DNA data of Roman imperial to Middle Byzantine date suggests that a reduction in population numbers only occurred after the Middle Byzantine period.⁵² This seems to be at odds with the results from the survey. However, the type of site typical for this period, i.e. artefact

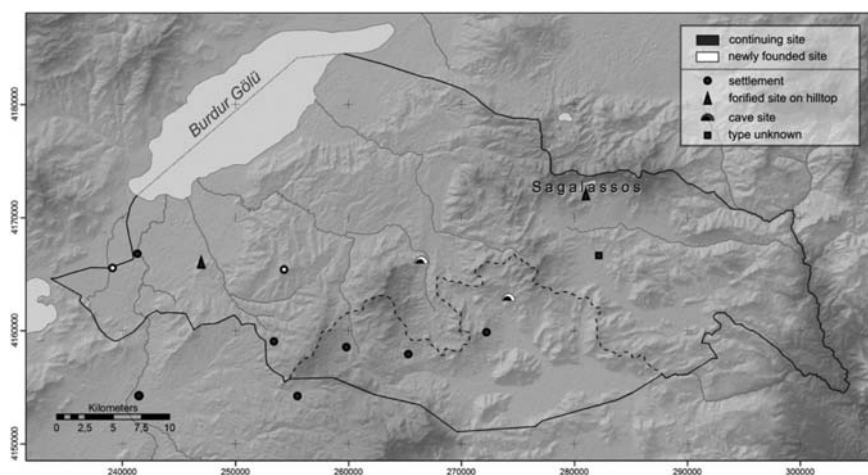


Figure 4.2 Distribution of Byzantine Dark Age sites in the territory of Sagalassos

⁵¹ Vanhaverbeke, 'Chora of Sagalassos'; Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

⁵² C. Ottoni, R. Rasteiro, R. Willet, J. Claeys, P. Talloen, K. Van de Vijver, L. Chikhi, J. Poblome, and R. Decorte, 'Comparing Maternal Genetic Variation across Two Millennia

scatters mostly lacking monumental remains, is unobtrusive and therefore rarely identified by non-intensive survey.

In the intensive surveys located further away from Sagalassos, i.e. the Bereket, Burdur Plain, and Bağsaray surveys, only scarce remains from this period were discovered. However, recent research in the area located immediately southeast of Sagalassos, i.e. the Dereköy survey⁵³ and the survey at Gavur Yığı, ⁵⁴ has revealed a large number of sites (n = 17) dating between the seventh and eleventh centuries. The types of sites include, farms, hamlets, churches, and even one large settlement, i.e. Döldül Yüzü.⁵⁵ Several sites continued from Late Antiquity, but also new sites were founded. Compared to the Late Antique settlement pattern the Byzantine system appears to show a greater level of nucleation.⁵⁶

It has become clear on reanalysis of the locations and character of the Byzantine Dark Age sites that most were situated at the same location as the preceding Late Imperial/Early Byzantine sites (the white dots on Figure 4.2). This does not necessarily denote continuous habitation from the Imperial into the Byzantine period. Because these sites were identified by surveys, continuity can neither be established nor disproved. Choice of the same site does, however, argue against a complete break with the previous period and a change in the use of the landscape. In other regions, discontinuity with the preceding Roman Imperial period is evidenced, taking the form of a shift of preferred settlement location away from the bottom of valleys towards hill-tops, often interpreted as resulting from increased insecurity.⁵⁷ In the territory of Sagalassos, excluding the Dereköy highlands, eight settlements were located on top of Roman Imperial sites, while only two occupied new locations together with two cave sites (see Figure 4.2). Of these new sites one was located in a valley bottom among potential agricultural fields, like those previously occupied.

A more detailed evaluation can be made of the sites discovered or reinvestigated in the intensive surveys, which seem to be representative of sites covered in the non-intensive survey. Most consist of simple artefact concentrations of limited extent. Stone building material or sculpted remains are

Reveals the Demographic History of an Ancient Human Population in Southwest Turkey', *Royal Society Open Science* 3/2 (2016), 1–9.

⁵³ Vandam et al., 'Living on the Margins'.

⁵⁴ P. Talloen, R. Vandam, M. Broisch, and J. Poblome, 'A Byzantine Church Discovered in the Village of Ağlasun (Burdur): Some More Light on Dark Age Pisidia', *Adalya* 20 (2017), 375–404.

⁵⁵ R. Vandam, P. Talloen, Y. Zenger, and J. Poblome, 'Döldül Yüzü: The Exploration of a Secondary Center in the Territory of Sagalassos', *News Bulletin on Archaeology from Mediterranean Anatolia* 16 (2018), 180–7.

⁵⁶ Vandam et al., 'Living on the Margins', 333.

⁵⁷ J. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries', in A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 39 (Washington, D.C., 2002), 225–304, at 278.

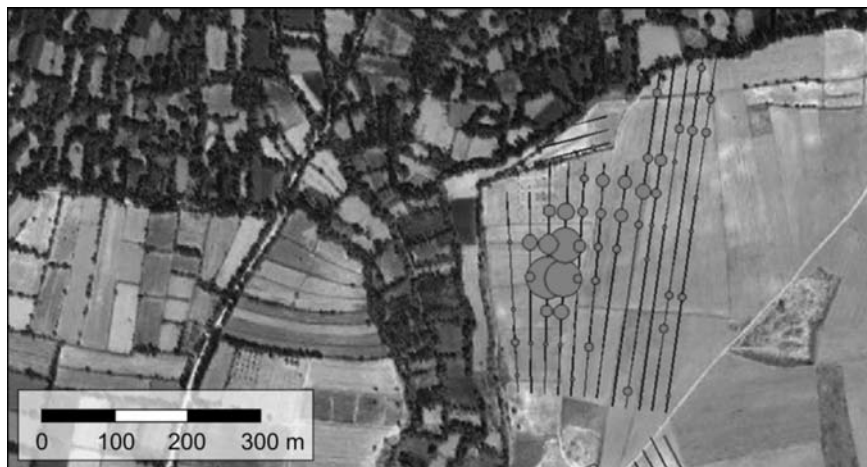


Figure 4.3 Pottery distribution at a Byzantine Dark Age site in the Plain of Burdur

absent and the artefact distribution typically consists of pottery fragments. A site discovered during fieldwork carried out in 2011 in the Plain of Burdur is an example of this type of site (see Figure 4.3).⁵⁸ Located in the middle of the fertile Burdur Plain, on a river, the Düğer Çayı, its setting seems ideally suited for the cultivation of crops. The pottery site displays the same general traits as the Byzantine Dark Age pottery from the excavations at Sagalassos.⁵⁹ Although the collection is much smaller and very fragmented, several of the types identified at Sagalassos are present here as well: for example a few Dark Age cooking pots and, especially, fragments of pattern burnished vessels, mainly jugs. Jugs were also the most common vessel type in the excavated assemblage from the former sanctuary of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos.⁶⁰ No remains from previous periods were discovered, making this one of the newly settled sites. Besides pottery, a considerable number of tile fragments was discovered, but no other artefacts were identified. From the limited area of the artefact distribution, the centre measuring c. 50 × 100 m, and its location among the fertile fields of the Burdur Plain, the site may be interpreted as a small village or hamlet focusing on crop cultivation.

All Byzantine Dark Age sites are located in or near fertile plains suitable for the cultivation of crops. The valleys in which these plains lie are, in some cases, located at high altitudes, e.g. the Bereket and Dereköy valleys,⁶¹ but none of these sites is positioned on a steep hill, an isolated rock outcrop, or another

⁵⁸ Kaptijn et al., 'Inhabiting the Plain of Burdur', 146.

⁵⁹ Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material Culture'.

⁶⁰ Vionis et al., 'Hidden Material Culture', 113.

⁶¹ For a description of these sites see Waelkens et al., *Sagalassos V*, 54.

sort of poorly accessible location, as is the case with many later Middle Byzantine sites. Sagalassos itself is the most notable exception, but the site was inherited from the Classical period.

The location of agricultural villages in or near the valley plains is very logical if one takes account of the erosion history of the region. Large-scale geomorphological research has shown that since c.800 BC, and especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, severe erosion occurred on the mountain slopes of the territory of Sagalassos mainly due to deforestation.⁶² During the Byzantine period the region saw reforestation, but by then the hills had been severely depleted of their fertile topsoil. This soil had been deposited on the valley floors, which, as a result, were well suited for the cultivation of crops. A preference for settlements in the valley plains, already visible during the Roman Imperial period, pointed to the importance of agriculture.

However, pollen cores from the territory of Sagalassos indicate that after the end of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period around 610 AD agriculture was largely abandoned in favour of animal husbandry.⁶³ This coincided with the climatic change from the so-called Roman Warm Period (relatively moist as well as warm) which lasted until AD 650, and the Dark Age Cold Period (drier as well as colder).⁶⁴ The Dark Age Cold Period, which lasted until c.AD 930, witnessed a sharp decrease in agricultural indicators and left evidence, in the form of a higher quantity of grasses, for an increase in pastoralism. Flocks of sheep and goats would prevent young trees from maturing and thus help extend the area of grassland.⁶⁵ There was also reforestation, but that was confined to areas with little or no human population.

These palynological results argue against a mode of subsistence relying predominantly on the cultivation of crops, despite continuity of occupation of former Roman Imperial sites which had been oriented towards agriculture. It is clear then that agricultural activity declined sharply but it is unlikely that it ceased altogether. Cereal cultivation probably continued on a much reduced scale.⁶⁶ The fields released from agriculture in the valleys were well suited for animal husbandry, much better suited indeed than barren or forested hillsides.

⁶² B. Dussar, 'Late Holocene Sediment Dynamics in a Mediterranean Mountain Environment' (PhD, Leuven, 2011); B. Dussar, G. Verstraeten, K. D'Haen, J. Bakker, E. Kaptijn, and M. Waelkens, 'Timing and Driving Forces of Regional Scale Geomorphic Activity in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Journal of Quaternary Science* 27/4 (2012), 371–82.

⁶³ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 187.

⁶⁴ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 84; J. Bakker, E. Paulissen, D. Kaniewski, V. de Laet, G. Verstraeten, and M. Waelkens, 'Man, Vegetation and Climate during the Holocene in the Territory of Sagalassos, Western Taurus Mountains, SW Turkey', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 21 (2012), 249–66, fig. 5.

⁶⁵ J. Bakker, D. Kaniewski, G. Verstraeten, V. de Laet, and M. Waelkens, 'Numerically-Derived Evidence for Late Holocene Climate Change and its Impact on Human Presence in the Southwest Taurus Mountains, Turkey', *The Holocene* 22/4 (2011), 425–38, at 435.

⁶⁶ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 311.

That they were so used is confirmed by the fact that the landscape remained open. It is thus no surprise to find newly founded Byzantine Dark Age settlements in the same environmental zone as Roman Imperial sites.

The picture emerging from the territory of Sagalassos corresponds in many but not all respects with the general pattern of rural development visible in the Byzantine Dark Age. The demography of the empire at large shows high population pressure up to the sixth century, followed by a sharp decrease in the number of settlements in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁶⁷ A clear decrease in the number of settlements has been reported by several archaeological survey projects including the surveys of Balboura, Kilise Tepe, Çadır Höyük, and Çanlı Kilise.⁶⁸ This trend is visible in the areas of the territory located further away from Sagalassos, but the recent results of the Dereköy survey and the genetic modelling show this was not a uniform phenomenon. As in other areas of Asia Minor,⁶⁹ we see a process of de-urbanization that resulted in a decrease of easily identifiable remains, but not necessarily a reduction in overall population. Elsewhere in the empire, sites from the early centuries of the Byzantine period tended to be located at higher altitudes than in the preceding or following periods. This retreat to high ground is generally attributed to an increased level of insecurity (which was reversed from the tenth century onward).⁷⁰ But despite raiding by Arab pirates in the middle of the seventh and early eighth centuries as far north as Pisidian Antioch (north of Sagalassos) and a consequently heightened level of insecurity for the territory of Sagalassos,⁷¹ there was no withdrawal from the valley plains. The slightly higher level of nucleation in the Dereköy valley might be an indication of greater insecurity, but it can also have many other explanations. In fact, in the territory of Sagalassos the normal trend seems to have been reversed.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The change from the Early to the Middle Byzantine period is marked by an important shift in the settlement pattern in the territory of Sagalassos. Eight of the sites inhabited in the Byzantine Dark Age also have remains datable to the Middle Byzantine period. At seven occupation can be traced back into the Roman and Hellenistic periods. In contrast to the Byzantine Dark Age, several Middle Byzantine sites were newly founded and, excepting one, all were

⁶⁷ Lefort, 'Economy', 268.

⁶⁸ P. Niewöhner, 'Urbanism', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 39–59, at 54.

⁶⁹ Niewöhner, 'Urbanism', 54. ⁷⁰ Lefort, 'Economy', 273.

⁷¹ Waelkens, 'Sagalassos und sein Territorium', 271.

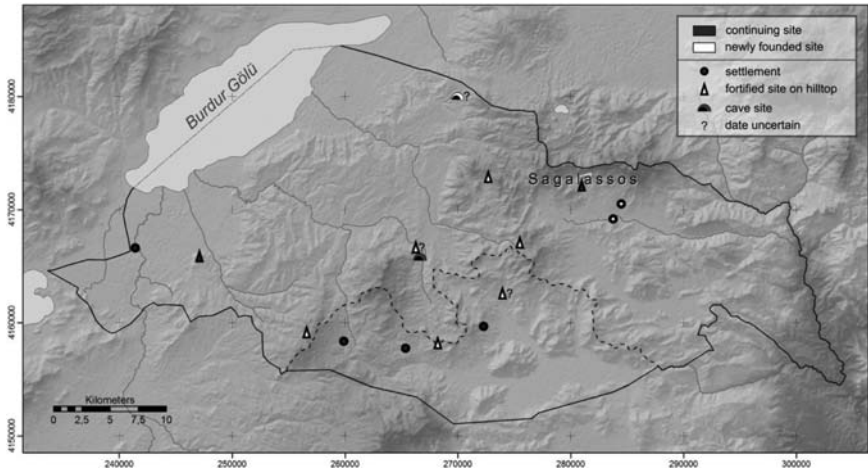


Figure 4.4 Distribution of Middle Byzantine sites in the territory of Sagalassos

fortified and located on poorly accessible hilltops⁷² (see Figure 4.4). Most of these sites were reoccupations, sometimes with a remodelling of fortified sites from the Archaic and Classical periods (750–330 BC). The reoccupation of older fortified sites is a phenomenon apparent in several parts of central Anatolia.⁷³ Although fortified hilltop sites are often interpreted as having a defensive function, the role of Byzantine fortified hilltop sites or ‘*kale*’s is not entirely clear and certainly not static.⁷⁴ No intensive survey has been conducted in the valleys below these hilltop sites. Any settlements in these valleys remain therefore undiscovered as the typically unobtrusive remains from Byzantine villages will not have been discovered in the non-intensive survey. This absence of information makes it difficult to assess the role of these fortified sites in this region. As these sites were only investigated by means of archaeological survey and not excavated, it is at this moment impossible to attribute them to sub-phases within the Middle Byzantine period. The move towards these higher locations might well have been restricted to the later stages of the period (see the development at Sagalassos below).

Palynological research has shown that, between AD 930 and 1250, the region, like the rest of south-west Turkey, witnessed a return of wetter conditions during the so-called Medieval Climate Anomaly.⁷⁵ This coincided with a resurgence of anthropogenic indicators in the territory of Sagalassos between c.950 and 1150 AD.⁷⁶ An increase in pastoralism, a return of deforestation

⁷² Poblome et al., ‘Sagalassos’, 632; Waelkens, ‘Sagalassos, Archaeology of’.

⁷³ J. Crow, ‘Fortifications’, in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 90–108, at 107.

⁷⁴ Crow, ‘Fortifications’, 100. ⁷⁵ Bakker, ‘Man, Vegetation and Climate’, fig. 5.

⁷⁶ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 189.

and a limited, but clearly visible amount of cereal cultivation is attested, while arboriculture remains absent.⁷⁷ This increase in human activity is, however, not visible in the archaeological record. The number of sites is similar to that of the Byzantine Dark Age and the size of the sites is, on average, also very similar. After AD 1150, an abrupt end of all anthropogenic indicators is visible, coinciding with a marked increase in pine forests.⁷⁸ While this coincides with a severe drought in the thirteenth century, it is clear that the complete absence of any anthropogenic indicators in the palynological record cannot be attributed to climatic change alone.⁷⁹

Although the increase in human activity manifest in the palynological record is not paralleled in the settlement pattern, it is in line with the general trend in the empire at large, where population growth is visible until the end of the thirteenth century AD.⁸⁰ It makes good sense in south-west Turkey in a period of economic prosperity after the end of the Arab piracy around 850 AD.⁸¹ A second general trend is documented by a series of Imperial laws issued in the tenth century to protect farming communities from depredation by large landowners.⁸² It is not clear whether or not they had an effect on Sagalassos and its territory. Whereas in the rest of the empire, a shift from village communities consisting of landowning and tax-paying peasants to estates cultivated by rent-paying peasants (*paroikoi* or tenant farmers) was discernible in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁸³ it is impossible, without excavation, to differentiate between villages and estates in the territory of Sagalassos. What can be said, though, is that most inhabited sites were to be found, not in or near plains in the valleys, as was the case for estates elsewhere in the empire,⁸⁴ but, in most cases, on hilltops. This marked a break with the Roman and early medieval settlement pattern, and might be attributed to a heightened sense of insecurity and a consequent need for defensible sites at some point during the Middle Byzantine period.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE REMAINS AT SAGALASSOS

At Sagalassos, the tenth and eleventh centuries are now documented by excavations both in the *kastron*, which was inhabited until the later eleventh

⁷⁷ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 189.

⁷⁸ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 190.

⁷⁹ Bakker, *Late Holocene Vegetation Dynamics*, 191.

⁸⁰ Lefort, 'Economy', 268.

⁸¹ M. Waelkens, *Sagalassos Jaarboek 2010. De Vroeg- tot midden-Byzantijnse periode (450–1250 n. Chr.). Het jaarverslag van de campagne van 2010* (Leuven, 2011), 217.

⁸² Waelkens, *Jaarboek*, 215, 217.

⁸³ A.E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge, 2007), 101.

⁸⁴ Lefort, 'Economy', 273.

century, and around the former Temple of Apollo Klarios where the earlier basilica church was renovated between the ninth and eleventh century, with a smaller chapel built inside.⁸⁵ It was used as a church again in association with a newly created cemetery. Although the excavated remains stem mostly from the last phase of occupation, it is clear that Alexander's Hill also contained at least one church, renovated between the ninth and eleventh centuries AD.⁸⁶ Recent excavations have revealed that the fortifications on Tekne Tepe, located on a mountain top above Sagalassos and forming the centre of the Sagalassos' northern defence system, was founded in the Hellenistic period and was reoccupied, among others, in the Middle Byzantine period (ninth–eleventh c. AD). A fire brought occupation of the site to an end.⁸⁷

It is likely that the *kastron* on the promontory continued to carry the name of Sagalassos and was the seat of the city's bishops during most of the Byzantine period, as well as housing a military garrison at times. Ecclesiastical sigillographic evidence suggests its growing economic importance during this period—a phenomenon visible in other parts of Pisidia as well.⁸⁸ M. Waelkens has argued that during the later eleventh century,⁸⁹ or perhaps even later, following the Battle of Manzikert (AD 1071), when most of Pisidia lay outside effective Byzantine control,⁹⁰ its population—possibly forced by the Selçuks—abandoned their heavily fortified site to settle in the Ağlasun valley, where their material culture continued to develop without Selçuk influence.⁹¹ The presence of a Middle Byzantine site near Ağlasun was established by the suburban survey conducted by Vanhaverbeke.⁹²

During the ninth to eleventh centuries the abandoned *martyrion* church within the former shrine of Apollo Klarios was renovated twice. The second renovation was dated to the late eleventh century. These renovations were associated with the development of a cemetery immediately to the south and east of the church, where eighty-seven skeletons were unearthed. Whereas pottery and glass finds from the cemetery were datable between the tenth and twelfth centuries, radiocarbon dates from the skeletons range between the

⁸⁵ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 306–8.

⁸⁶ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 308.

⁸⁷ P. Talloen, M. Albayrak, and J. Poblome, 'Investigating the Defences of Sagalassos: The 2017 excavations on the Akra', *News Bulletin on Archaeology from Mediterranean Anatolia* 16 (2018), 95–102.

⁸⁸ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 308–9.

⁸⁹ Jacobs, 'Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos', 183–5.

⁹⁰ Belke et al., 'Phrygien', 104.

⁹¹ Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

⁹² M. Waelkens, F. Martens, H. Vanhaverbeke, J. Poblome, B. Music, and B. Slapsak, 'The 2003 Survey Season at Sagalassos and in its Territory', in K. Olşen, F. Bayram, and A. Özme, eds, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 22, 24–28 Mayıs 2004 Konya*, T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları 3030/1, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayın 106/1 (Ankara, 2005), 369–84, at 377.

third decade of the eleventh and the last quarter of the thirteenth century.⁹³ This suggests that the cemetery remained in use until the second half of the thirteenth century, a date which corresponds neither with the occupation of the *kastron* nor with that of the fortification of ‘Alexander’s Hill’ (probably destroyed between the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth c. AD). This cemetery thus appears to be associated with an as yet unidentified habitation nucleus located somewhere among the ruins of Early Byzantine Sagalassos⁹⁴ or with the settlement in the Ağlasun valley which continued into the Late Byzantine period. That we are dealing with descendants of the original population of Sagalassos is shown by ancient DNA analysis extracted from eighty-five skeletons which showed no genetic affinity to Türkmen populations.⁹⁵ All graves were simple east–west oriented inhumations, often only in a simple pit, sometimes lined with stones, but always without a coffin. Only in a small number of tombs were there grave goods.⁹⁶ They consisted of beads, plant ash bracelets, rings, and metal chest crosses.⁹⁷ This points to a very modest social status on the part of the interred. The presence of cavities, dental plaque, receding gum as well as the presence of osteoarthritis in nearly all skeletons, all indicative of malnutrition, suggests poverty.⁹⁸

Concern for a greater level of security becomes marked at Sagalassos in the settlement on Alexander’s Hill. The sixth-century church, which was renovated around AD 1000, was destroyed or dismantled somewhere in or slightly before the first half of the twelfth century.⁹⁹ This destruction or dismantling was intentionally and systematically done, to judge by the complete clearance of all wall and floor remains down to bedrock.¹⁰⁰ Construction material from this church was found together with mid-twelfth- and early thirteenth-century pottery in the foundation trenches of both a cistern and a circuit wall that form the final phase of this site.¹⁰¹ Excavated coins minted in AD 1092–1118 and AD 1143–1180 corroborate these dates.

⁹³ With some samples dating restrictively to the thirteenth century AD. C. Ottoni, F.-X. Ricaut, N. Vanderheyden, N. Brucato, M. Waelkens, and R. Decorte, ‘Mitochondrial Analysis of a Byzantine Population Reveals the Differential Impact of Multiple Historical Events in South Anatolia’, *European Journal of Human Genetics* 19 (2011), 571–6.

⁹⁴ Waelkens ‘Sagalassos, Archaeology of’.

⁹⁵ F.X. Ricaut and M. Waelkens, ‘Cranial Discrete Traits in a Byzantine Population and Eastern Mediterranean Population Movements’, *Human Biology* 80/5 (2008), 535–64; Ottoni et al., ‘Mitochondrial Analysis’.

⁹⁶ Ricaut and Waelkens, ‘Cranial Discrete Traits’, 540.

⁹⁷ Waelkens, ‘Report on the 2006 and 2007 Excavation’, 445; S. Cleymans and P. Talloen, ‘Protection in Life and Death: Pendant Crosses from the Cemetery of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos, Turkey’, *European Journal of Archaeology* 21 (2018), 280–98.

⁹⁸ Waelkens, *Jaarboek*, 237.

⁹⁹ Vionis et al., ‘Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery’, 428–9.

¹⁰⁰ Vionis et al., ‘Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery’, 428.

¹⁰¹ Vionis et al., ‘Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery’, 428–9.

The pottery assemblage from this fortified site has been intensively studied by Vionis.¹⁰² The stratigraphy, size, and composition of the assemblage show that it dates from a short period, probably from just before the destruction of the settlement. The assemblage is largely domestic in nature and has only a limited number of imported glazed tablewares.¹⁰³ Vessels for serving and consumption occur in more or less the same numbers as types used for cooking and processing or storage and transport.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to the Byzantine Dark Age ceramic assemblages of Sagalassos and what might be expected from the domestic character of the material, fabric analysis has shown that the majority of the vessels was imported from outside the territory of Sagalassos.¹⁰⁵ This shows that the strictly local focus of the previous period had been superseded by at least a certain amount of interregional contact. The faunal assemblage of this phase shows that, in contrast to the Roman Imperial period, the most commonly eaten meat was beef, followed by pork, rather than mutton and goat.¹⁰⁶ This change in meat-consumption may be reflected in the shift from Roman casserole-type cooking pots to the flat-bottomed closed cooking pots of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Lipid analysis of both types of cooking pot shows that the Middle Byzantine closed pots predominantly contained non-ruminant fat while in the Roman Imperial casseroles these ruminant fats were present, suggesting very different eating habits.¹⁰⁷ The imported glazed pottery, thus far restricted to this fortification on Alexander's Hill, together with evidence of consumption of a high proportion of cattle and wild animals, such as deer and hares, higher than that attested elsewhere in the excavations of Sagalassos, might suggest permanent occupation by a small military garrison. Yet the possibility that we are dealing with a refuge site cannot be excluded completely. If it was a military fortification, it may have been part of a belt of Byzantine fortresses built during the reign of one of the Komnenoi,¹⁰⁸ most likely Manuel I Komnenos (AD 1143–1180) to secure the overland route from Antalya to Laodikea ad Lycum.¹⁰⁹ Military clashes, recorded in 1146 (second Selçuk campaign by Manuel I Komnenos) and 1147 (Second Crusade) make it clear that by then the uplands of western Pisidia were already occupied by mostly nomadic Turkmens, who used them for pasture.¹¹⁰ The pressure also to take hold of the valley bottoms of the river

¹⁰² Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery'.

¹⁰³ Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery', 452.

¹⁰⁴ Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery', 451.

¹⁰⁵ Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery', 431.

¹⁰⁶ Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery', 456.

¹⁰⁷ K. Romanus, J. Poblome, K. Verbeke, A. Luypaerts, P. Jacobs, D. De Vos, and M. Waelkens, 'An Evaluation of Analytical and Interpretative Methodologies for the Extraction and Identification of Lipids associated with Pottery Sherds from the Site of Sagalassos, Turkey', *Archaeometry* 49/4 (2007), 729–47, at 457.

¹⁰⁸ Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

¹⁰⁹ Hellenkemper et al., *Lykien*, 129.

¹¹⁰ Belke et al., *Phrygien*, 114–16.

systems in this region, which possessed excellent meadows for use in winter, was increasing.¹¹¹ However, in AD 1158/59 Manuel I Komnenos could again safely use this route during his Cilician campaign.¹¹²

The violent and systematic destruction of the fortress on Alexander's Hill somewhere between the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth century AD is documented by a thick destruction layer (ashes) and by the fact that all the walls and structures were razed to the ground and the cistern completely filled in to exclude any further use.¹¹³ In AD 1204 the Selçuks took Isparta, immediately to the north of Sagalassos and the last Byzantine stronghold in the area¹¹⁴ The fortress on the Alexander Hill may have fallen then as well, but thus far no Selçuk remains have been found in the excavated destruction debris. However, the cemetery around the former Apollo Klarios shrine and associated with another, as yet unidentified habitation nucleus, remained in use until the middle to late thirteenth century. The final abandonment of the city before the end of the thirteenth century seems to be reflected in a drastic fall in population in the region, documented by MtDNA analysis.¹¹⁵

Indeed, the destruction of the fortress was not an isolated event. It is clear that the population of the territory had suffered from insecurity for a considerable period of time before its final incorporation in the Sultanate of Rum. This would explain the choice of well-defended hilltop sites as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries. At some point around the middle of the twelfth century, many inhabitants of the small villages scattered throughout the territory must have decided to move to other regions or congregate in a few well-defended settlements, contemporary with the creation of a Byzantine fortress on Sagalassos' Alexander's Hill. In the largely abandoned territory, reforestation could then take place as is signalled in the palynological results. In other areas of the region a similar phenomenon is visible; relatively small defensible locations in or near former urban settlements are refortified, e.g. Side, Patara, Nicaea, Ancyra, Priene, Pergamon, and Miletus.¹¹⁶

The pottery found inside the fortress was identical to pottery present in the fill of the foundation trench of a Selçuk-style hamam built at Ağlasun in AD 1226–1236, which did not yet contain any Selçuk sherds either.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, two sites discovered in the Ağlasun valley, located c.1.5 km to the east

¹¹¹ Belke et al., *Phrygien*, 114–15. ¹¹² Belke et al., *Phrygien*, 116.

¹¹³ Poblome et al., '2005 Excavations', 429; Vionis et al., 'Middle/Late Byzantine Pottery', 431.

¹¹⁴ Belke et al., *Phrygien*, 123–4.

¹¹⁵ Ottoni et al., 'Comparing Maternal Genetic Variation'.

¹¹⁶ Niewöhner, 'Urbanisation', 55, 58–9.

¹¹⁷ H. Vanhaverbeke, Ö. Başağaç, K. Paul, and M. Waelkens, 'A Selçuk hamam at Ağlasun, Burdur Province, Turkey?', *Turcica. Revue d'Études Turques. Peuples, langues, cultures, états* 37 (2005), 309–66, at 320.

of Ağlasun, also have the same type of pottery.¹¹⁸ This may support the assumption that the main focus of habitation had moved to Ağlasun and surroundings as these sites continued into the Late Byzantine period.¹¹⁹ The last bishop of Sagalassos was referred to as bishop of 'Agalassu', a name living on in that of Ağlasun. This could reflect a partial relocation of the population in the immediate vicinity.¹²⁰

Given that the material collected came from surveys, it is impossible to say whether these sites were continuously occupied or whether there were periods of abandonment. Nor can the ethnicity of the Late Byzantine inhabitants be identified. These few sites do, however, show that a total abandonment of the region after the Middle Byzantine period is as unlikely as a complete abandonment at the beginning of the Byzantine Dark Age proved to be.

CONCLUSION

The settlement evolution that emerges for the territory of Sagalassos differs in several crucial respects from that of the Byzantine Empire as a whole. The drastic decrease of population in the seventh and eighth centuries after the high level up to the sixth century is visible in some parts of the Sagalassos territory and the empire as a whole.¹²¹ Thereafter the trends diverge. In the empire at large, starting in the late eighth century and continuing up to the start of the fourteenth century, there was a slow but steady increase in the number of people and villages.¹²² This population growth, especially from the tenth century onwards, has been associated with the growing level of security and a steady increase in prosperity.¹²³ In Sagalassos and its territory, by contrast, neither the number nor the size of villages changed significantly between the Byzantine Dark Age and the Middle Byzantine period. Moreover, the recent survey results suggest that the vicinity of Sagalassos remained densely occupied during the Byzantine Dark Age. A second effect of the increased level of security on the empire at large is not paralleled in the Sagalassos region. Newly founded tenth- to twelfth-century estates elsewhere were normally located in or near valley plains among agricultural fields and were engaged more than before in arboriculture (which needs stable conditions, given the long period before returns are attained), while seventh- to

¹¹⁸ A.K. Vionis, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Study 2009: Surface Pottery from Akyamaç*, web report Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project, <http://www.sagalassos.be/en/node/1121> (2009).

¹¹⁹ Vionis, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Study*.

¹²⁰ Poblome et al., 'Sagalassos', 310–11; Waelkens, 'Sagalassos, Archaeology of'.

¹²¹ Lefort, 'Economy', 268. ¹²² Lefort, 'Economy', 269.

¹²³ Lefort, 'Economy', 273; Laiou et al., *Economy*, 105.

ninth-century villages were located in defensible positions at higher altitudes.¹²⁴ In the territory of Sagalassos this trend was completely reversed: between the seventh and ninth centuries, villages were located in the plains, most on sites previously occupied in the Late Roman Imperial period; thereafter, in the Middle Byzantine period, settlements moved to defensible hilltops, possibly in a reaction to threats from the Selçuks. Furthermore, there is no evidence of arboriculture after the end of the Beyşehir Occupation Phase around AD 650. Palynological research does suggest a higher level of human activity during the Middle Byzantine period, but this is as yet not recognized in the archaeological record. However, the recent realization that Byzantine remains were present in Sagalassos and its territory has shown that future intensive survey may alter this picture radically. Research in more marginal areas, not typically selected by archaeologists and Romans alike, is likely to prove highly informative.

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¹²⁴ Lefort, 'Economy', 273.

What Went Wrong? Decline and Ruralization in Eleventh-Century Anatolia

The Archaeological Record

Philipp Niewöhner

There is scarcely any archaeology of eleventh-century Anatolia, and little can be said with any degree of certainty.¹ Few monuments are known, fewer still are securely dated, and their significance for the socio-economic development is ambivalent. See for example the rock-cut architecture of Cappadocia and its frescoes, several of which may date from the eleventh century according to some scholars, whilst others advocate an earlier or a later date.² In the face of some recent conservation work that has revealed various layers of paint and a complicated stratigraphy,³ it seems prudent to withhold judgement until more monuments have been thoroughly investigated and their function has been securely established. Some alleged monasteries have more recently been understood as elite houses or *necropoleis*,⁴ which implies a more complex

¹ I would like to thank James Howard-Johnston, Urs Peschlow, and Andrey Vinogradov for reading and improving the manuscript.

² C. Jolivet-Lévy, 'La Cappadoce après Jerphanion: les monuments byzantins des 10^e-13^e siècles', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 110 (1998), 899-930; J.-M. Spieser, review of N. Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité au Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive 4 (Turnhout, 2002), *BZ* 97 (2004), 254-6; R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 42 (Washington, D.C., 2011), 4; R. Warland, *Byzantinisches Kappadokien* (Darmstadt, 2013); F.G. Öztürk, 'Rock-cut Architecture', in P. Niewöhner, ed., *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia* (New York, 2017), 148-59.

³ M. Andaloro, 'The Cappadocia Wall Paintings Project', *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 32 (2014), II, 93-110.

⁴ R. Warland, 'Die byzantinische Höhlensiedlung von Gökce/Momoasson in Kappadokien: Gehöfte, Grabkapellen mit Wandmalerei und ein vermögender Salböhändler', *Ist.Mitt.* 58 (2008), 347-69; V. Kalas, 'Challenging the Sacred Landscape of Byzantine Cappadocia', in A. Luyster and A. Walker, eds, *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art: Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism* (Aldershot, 2009), 147-73; C. Jolivet-Lévy, 'The Bahattın Samanlığı Kilisesi at Belisırma Revisited', in C. Hourihane, ed., *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies* (Princeton, 2009), 81-110; R. Ousterhout,

social structure, but archaeological evidence for the lower strata of society is lacking.

Similar problems surround most other supposedly eleventh-century monuments of Byzantine Anatolia, and to approach them archaeologically is difficult. One major issue is the apparent stagnation of formal development, which makes it virtually impossible to date a monument on stylistic grounds. Most buildings may actually date from the tenth century, and if some belong to the eleventh century, they would look rather old-fashioned. Another, certainly old-fashioned, trait of the period was the employment of traditional forms that had been introduced in the Early Byzantine period. Its heritage remained dominant in Anatolia and was superior to anything contemporary, which may go some way in explaining the conservative attitudes of the Middle Byzantine period. More importantly, much of eleventh-century Anatolia seems to have been short on prosperity and ambitious building projects, although palynological evidence indicates an intensification of agriculture and an increase of rural population.

This chapter considers the evidence of churches, templon epistyles, and fortifications, before asking, 'What went wrong?' Why did eleventh-century Anatolia apparently fare worse than the contemporary Aegean, Greece, and more generally the Balkan part of the Byzantine Empire?

CHURCHES

Outside Anatolia, some of the finest achievements of Byzantine architecture date from the eleventh century, as Cyril Mango observed at a Paris colloquium held over forty years ago.⁵ Among the most famous are monastic foundations in the Aegean and Greece, for example the catholica of the Nea Mone, Hosios Loukas, and Daphne.⁶ Nothing comparable is known from Anatolia, and, surveying the documentary evidence, Jean Darrouzès counted less than half the number of monastic foundations in eleventh-century Anatolia as in the

Visualizing Community. Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 46 (Washington, D.C., 2017), 371–480.

⁵ C. Mango, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du 11e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *TM* 6 (1976), 351–65. Cf. C. Delvoye, 'L'architecture byzantine au 11e siècle', *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1967), 225–34.

⁶ P. Spagnesi, *Chios Medioevale: storia architettonica di un'isola della Grecia Bizantina* (Rome, 2008), 57–61; S. Voyadjis, 'The Katholikon of Nea Moni in Chios Unveiled', *JÖB* 59 (2009), 229–42; S. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans: From Diocletian to Suleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven, CT, 2010), 383–90.

West or even in Constantinople alone.⁷ Jean-Claude Cheynet has expressed some reservations concerning this count,⁸ but the concurrence of archaeological and documentary evidence remains striking.

Hans Buchwald therefore faces

the enigma that...Asia Minor seems to have had only a minor, and possibly an insignificant place in the construction of major monuments...We look in vain for the dozens of monastic and village churches..., which we know from Greece, and good examples...such as those of Constantinople are all but unknown there [in Anatolia]. Moreover, the splendid later development..., which includes such truly amazing buildings as Hosios Loukas in Phocis and Nea Moni on Chios has apparently not left a single trace on the mainland of Asia Minor. This lacuna cannot be attributed to the late eleventh century depredations in Asia Minor, because many of the best examples...in Greece and the capital were built before the battle of Manzikert opened the way for the Seljuk invasions. Nor do I believe that the lack of evidence is due entirely to the loss of significant monuments..., because so many buildings constructed in other Byzantine styles have survived.⁹

This dearth of monuments is in marked contrast to the record of building in Anatolia in previous centuries. The heartland of the early medieval empire, in terms of its contribution of manpower and resources to the long-lasting battle for survival against Islam, was also the arena within which Byzantium best demonstrated its cultural autonomy and resilience in the form of major architectural monuments. Neither the Balkan provinces, exposed as they were to Slav infiltration, nor the islands of the Aegean, all too vulnerable to Arab sea-raiders, nor the distant outliers of the empire in the Crimea and the central Mediterranean, could match what was constructed in Anatolia. A mere enumeration of the churches datable to the period is enough to hammer home the point that, until the ninth or maybe the early tenth century, Anatolia had been at the forefront of Byzantine architecture, with the greatest number of churches and the largest domes being erected there,¹⁰ for example:

⁷ J. Darrouzès, 'Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au 11e siècle', *TM* 6 (Paris, 1976), 159–76.

⁸ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Basil II and Asia Minor', in P. Magdalino, ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2002), 71–108, at 73f.

⁹ H. Buchwald, 'Western Asia Minor as a Generator of Architectural Forms in the Byzantine Period: Provincial Back-Wash or Dynamic Center of Production?', *JÖB* 34 (1984), 199–234, at 227f. Cf. H. Buchwald and M. Savage, 'Churches', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 130–47.

¹⁰ C. Mango, *Architettura Bizantina* (Venice, 1974), 161–80; V. Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 237 (Rome, 1991); H. Buchwald, review of Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture*, *JÖB* 43 (1993), 469–73; H. Buchwald, 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Transitional Byzantine Architecture', *JÖB* 44 (1994), 21–31; V. Ruggieri, *L'architettura religiosa nell'Impero Bizantino (fine 6–9 secolo)*, *Saggi, studi, testi* 2 (Soveria Mannelli, 1995); R.G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 17–32; R. Ousterhout, 'The Architecture of Iconoclasm. Buildings', in

- (1) *Bithynia*: St John at Pelekete, the Fatih Camii at Tirilye,¹¹ the church of the Archangels at Sige,¹² the church of the Dormition at Nicaea.¹³
- (2) *Southern coastlands*: St Nicholas at Myra,¹⁴ St Gabriel or Alakilise,¹⁵ the church at Dereağzı in upland Lycia,¹⁶ and probably the Cumanin Camii at Antalya,¹⁷ church H in Side,¹⁸ the church at Pydna/Kydna in Lycia,¹⁹ as well as a cross domed necropolis church at Patara.²⁰
- (3) *Interior plateau*: St Clement at Ankara,²¹ the lower city church at Amorium,²² and probably St Michael at Germia,²³ all in Galatia, as

L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, eds, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–859). The Sources* (Ashgate, 2001), 3–20.

¹¹ C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, 'Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara', *DOP* 27 (1973), 235–77; M.S. Pekak, *Trilye (Zeytinbağı) Fatih Camisi* (Istanbul, 2009).

¹² H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania*, *Byzantina Vindobonensia* 4 (Böhlau, 1969).

¹³ O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken nebst den verwandten kirchlichen Baudenkmälern: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Kunst im 1. Jahrtausend*, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* 13 (Strassburg, 1903); T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia: das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1927); U. Peschlow, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik', *Ist. Mitt.* 22 (1972), 145–87.

¹⁴ U. Peschlow, 'Die Architektur der Nikolaoskirche in Myra', in J. Borchhardt, ed., *Myra: eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 30 (Berlin, 1975), 303–59; S. Doğan, N. Çorağan, V. Bulgurlu, Ç. Alas, E. Findik, and E. Apaydin, *Demre-Myra: Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi* (Istanbul, 2014).

¹⁵ P. Grossmann and H.-G. Severin, *Frühchristliche und byzantinische Bauten im südöstlichen Lykien*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 46 (Tübingen, 2003), 33–49.

¹⁶ J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzı and its Decoration*, *Ist.Mitt. Beiheft* 29 (Tübingen, 1983). See also the Review by W.E. Kleinbauer, *AJA* 90 (1986), 140–2, who draws attention to seventh-century coin finds at the site and considers that the church may have been built then.

¹⁷ G. Kaymak, *Die Cumanin Camii in Antalya: ihre Baugeschichte und ihre byzantinischen Ursprünge*. Bauaufnahme–Bauforschung–Denkmalpflege, Adalya supplement 9 (Antalya, 2009).

¹⁸ S. Eyice, 'L'église cruciforme de Side en Pamphylie', *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 35–42.

¹⁹ J.P. Adam, 'La basilique byzantine de Kydna de Lycie: notes descriptives et restitution', *Revue Archéologique* (1977), 53–78.

²⁰ U. Peschlow, 'The Cemetery Church at the Tepecik Necropolis of Patara', in H. İşkan and F. Işık, eds, *From Sand into a City. 25 Years of Patara Excavations*, *Patara* 7, 1 (Istanbul, 2015), 463–73.

²¹ G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne: monuments préhelléniques, gréco-romains, byzantins et musulmans de Pont, de Cappadoce et de Galatie*, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 13.1 (Beirut, 1928), 113–43; U. Peschlow, *Ankara. Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit* (Vienna, 2015), 187–244.

²² E.A. Ivison, 'The Amorium Project. Excavation and Research in 2002: The Lower City Church', *DOP* 59 (2005), 241–54.

²³ P. Niewöhner, 'Bronze Age Hüyük, Iron Age Hill Top Forts, Roman Poleis, and Byzantine Pilgrimage in Germia and Its Vicinity: "Connectivity" and a Lack of "Definite Places" on the Central Anatolian High Plateau', *Anatolian Studies* 63 (2013), 97–136.

well as the churches at Başaran²⁴ and Sebaste/Selçikler in Phrygia,²⁵ and a cross-domed necropolis church at Aphrodisias.²⁶

(4) Possibly St Mary at Ephesus.²⁷

Most of these churches replaced Early Byzantine predecessors that may have been ruined during the Arab raids of the later seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries. But it is plain, from the scale of the building work undertaken in these reconstruction projects, that Anatolian urbanism retained considerable vigour in spite of the invasions.

It is hard to document the pace and phasing of relative decline in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which resulted in a westward shift in the focus of church building.²⁸ The Panagia Chalkeon at Thessaloniki may be taken as typical of the new surge of construction in the eleventh century Aegean, Greece, and more generally in the Balkans (Figure 5.1). Its brickwork as well as the recessed blind arcades framing the windows were new architectural features that can also be found in Anatolia and may help to identify churches built in the eleventh century.²⁹

To start with, similar brickwork and blind arcades could be observed on the only major church building in Anatolia that is securely dated to the eleventh century, namely the second phase of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea. As Mango has pointed out, the monastery church was rebuilt during the reign of Constantine X (1059–1067), probably after an earthquake had caused the

²⁴ A.O. Alp, 'The Newly Discovered Middle Byzantine Churches from Phrygia', in Ioannisian and Jolshin, *Architecture of Byzantium and Kievan Rus*, 9–20; A.O. Alp, 'Eskişehir, Başara Köyü Kazılarında Bulunan Bizans Dönemi Kiliseleri', in S. Cirtil, S. Özgün Cirtil, and K. Pektaş, eds, *Proceedings of the 13th Symposium of Medieval and Turkish Period Excavations and Art Historical Researches* (Pamukkale, 2011), 21–30.

²⁵ N. Firath, 'Découverte d'une église byzantine a Sébaste de Phrygie', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969), 151–66.

²⁶ Ö. Dalgıç, 'Early Christian and Byzantine Churches', in P.D. De Staebler and C. Ratté, eds, *The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, Aphrodisias 5 (Mainz, 2012), 367–96, at 371–5 (West Church).

²⁷ E. Russo, *Sulla cronologia del S. Giovanni e di altri monumenti paleocristiani di Efeso*, Österreichische Ak.Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschrift 400 = Archäologische Forschungen 19 (Vienna, 2010), 57–98; U. Peschlow, Review of Russo, *Sulla cronologia, Römische Quartalschrift* 108 (2013), 291–5; N.D. Karydis, *Early Byzantine Vaulted Construction in Churches of the Western Coastal Plains and River Valleys of Asia Minor*, BAR Int.Ser. 2246 (Oxford, 2011), 134–54; A. Degaspero, *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos. Die Bauskulptur aus frühchristlicher und byzantinischer Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 14 (Vienna, 2013), 51–3.

²⁸ Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 369–435. This seems to have led H.-R. Toivanen, *The Influence of Constantinople on Middle Byzantine Architecture (843–1204): A Typological and Morphological Approach at the Provincial Level*, Publications of the Finnish Society of Church History 202 (Helsinki, 2007) to focus solely on Constantinople, Greece, and the Balkans.

²⁹ M. Mihaljević, 'Üçayak: A Forgotten Byzantine Church', *BZ* 107 (2014), 725–54 has most recently taken this approach, but see below for its limitations and the possibility that the diagnostic features were developed in tenth-century Anatolia rather than imported from eleventh-century Constantinople.



Figure 5.1 Thessaloniki, Panagia Chalkeon, upper part of the south façade from southeast

collapse of the original dome in 1065.³⁰ The rebuilding included the northern and western façades with a decoration of blind arcades and pairs of superimposed niches.

A second example is provided by the better-preserved but less well-documented ruin of Üçayak half way between Caesarea/Kayseri and Ankara in the north-western part of Cappadocia. The location is completely isolated, and Semavi Eyice has identified it with the battlefield on which the general Bardas Phokas won a victory against the usurper Bardas Skleros in 979.³¹ Eyice

³⁰ C. Mango, 'The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea', *DOP* 13 (1959), 245–51.

³¹ J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903), 32–41; S. Eyice, 'La ruine byzantine dite "Üçayak" près de Kirşehir en Anatolie centrale: un monument architectural de la fin du 10e ou du 11e siècle', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 18 (1968), 137–55 (earlier bibliography); S. Eyice, 'Untersuchungen in der Üc-Ayak genannten Ruinenstätte bei Kirşehir', *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 17/2 (2004), 141–67 (corrected drawings); D.D. Jolshin and A. Y. Vinogradov, 'Средневизантийский храм Учаяк и некоторые вопросы строительной техники в Малой Азии', in V.N. Zalesskaja and J.A. Pjatnickij, eds, *Belgrade Studies, Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum* 80 (St Petersburg, 2016), 7–27; Mihaljević, 'Üçayak'

interprets the twin chapels as built to commemorate the victory on behalf of the two reigning emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII. The key diagnostic features—brick architecture with recessed blind arcades and pairs of superimposed niches as found in the Panaghia Chalkeon at Thessaloniki (Figure 5.1) and in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea—are also present at Üçayak (Figure 5.2). These similarities, however, do not necessarily imply an eleventh-century date, and Eyice may be right in placing Üçayak in the later tenth century. The peculiar brick architecture with recessed blind arcades and pairs of superimposed niches may have been conceived in Anatolia during the tenth century, before the famous Aegean and Greek monuments were built in the eleventh.

Little is known about the development of Byzantine architecture in the later tenth century,³² but the diagnostic features under consideration may have been inherited from earlier Anatolian churches, for example the church at Dereağzı in upland Lycia.³³ Dereağzı may be identified with Mastaura, the second-ranking bishopric of Middle Byzantine Lycia.³⁴ The walls of the church are built with alternating layers of stone and brick. On the north and the south, domed annex chapels may have served as *skeuophylakion* and baptistery like the respective annexes of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople that also take the form of separate centrally planned buildings.³⁵ At the southern annex at Dereağzı a lower and an upper storey or drum are preserved (Figure 5.3); only the dome has collapsed. The lower storey is built with alternating layers of limestone and brick, the drum with brick only. An arched doorway, a superimposed niche, and the windows of the drum are all recessed.

At Constantinople too, the same two features can be found well before the eleventh century in the church of Constantine Lips from the early tenth century.³⁶ The lower parts of the walls are built with alternating layers of limestone and brick. The arched windows of the apses and superimposed niches are recessed (Figure 5.4). A second metropolitan church with the

enumerates other middle Byzantine twin chapels in central Anatolia and a range of possible functions; Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 93–5.

³² Mango, 'Monuments de l'architecture', 352.

³³ See above note 16 and cf. J. Morganstern, ed., *The Fort at Dereağzı and Other Material Remains in its Vicinity: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Istanbul Forschungen 40 (Tübingen, 1993).

³⁴ F. Hild, review of Morganstern, *Fort at Dereağzı*, *JÖB* 46 (1996), 483f.; F. Hild, 'Lykien in den Notitiae episcopatum', *JÖB* 54 (2004), 1–17, at 3f.; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 8 = Österreichische Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 320 (Vienna, 2004), 716–18.

³⁵ K. Dark and J. Kosteneć, 'The Byzantine Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Baptistery of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul', *Architectura* 36 (2006), 113–30; K. Dark and J. Kosteneć, 'Paul the Silentary's Description of Hagia Sophia in the Light of New Archaeological Evidence', *Byzantinoslavica* 70 (2011), 88–105.

³⁶ A.H.S. Megaw, 'The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips', *DOP* 18 (1964), 279–98.



Figure 5.2 Üçayak in Cappadocia, north façade from northwest



Figure 5.3 Dereagzi in Lycia, southern annex from southwest

diagnostic architectural features is the Eski Imaret Camii. Since it has been identified with the catholicon of the Akataleptos monastery, it must date from the late eleventh century,³⁷ almost two centuries after Constantine Lips' church. The Eski Imaret Camii is built almost exclusively of brick and is decorated with several thrice-recessed blind arches (Figure 5.5), but otherwise it is hardly distinguishable from the church of Constantine Lips (Figure 5.4).³⁸ The lack of more significant changes and dated monuments between the early tenth and late eleventh century in Anatolia makes it virtually impossible to date a building like Üçayak any more precisely.

The same applies to other Anatolian churches that have been attributed to the eleventh century. (1) The masonry of alternating layers of cut stone and

³⁷ S. Kotzabassi, 'Zur Lokalisierung des Akataleptos-Klosters in Konstantinopel', *REB* 63 (2005), 233–5. Cf. N. Asutay-Effenberger and A. Effenberger, 'Eski Imaret Camii, Bonoszisterne und Konstantinsmauer', *JÖB* 58 (2008), 13–44, for a different identification of the Eski Imaret Camii with a church from the late ninth century, but without an assessment of the architectural features. The latter have last been studied by R. Ousterhout, 'Some Notes on the Construction of Christos ho Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii) in Istanbul', *Deltion tes Christianikes Arhaiologikes Etaireias* 16 (1991–92), 47–56.

³⁸ Mango, *Architettura Bizantina*, 235; Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 17.



Figure 5.4 Istanbul, Fenari Isa Camii or church of Constantine Lips, east façade

brick of a now lost church at Islamköy near Seleukeia Sidera in Pisidia³⁹ and a ruined church at Çeltikdere near Seben in Bithynia⁴⁰ are comparable to the early tenth-century church of Constantine Lips, save that the apses are round and the windows narrow. The latter was the case in many provincial churches of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods and is probably to be explained by a lack of mullions and *transennae*; window glass may also have been scarce. (2) The southern façade of the Middle Byzantine harbour chapel inside the nave of an Early Byzantine basilica at Side in Pamphylia consists mostly of old, reused cut stone (Figure 5.6).⁴¹ Three small arched windows are each framed

³⁹ H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler 5. 6 = Neue Folge der Archäologischen Studien zum christlichen Altertum und Mittelalter 5. 6 (Leipzig, 1908), 11 fig. 3; K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Österreichische Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 211 = Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7 (Vienna, 1990), 378.

⁴⁰ Y. Ötügen and R. Ousterhout, 'The Byzantine Church at Çeltikdere', in B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald, and L. Theis, eds, *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam, 1995), 85–92 (eleventh century); Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 172 (tenth or eleventh century).

⁴¹ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 36f.; A.M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin, 1963), 164f.; C. Gliwitzky, 'Die Kirche im sog. Bischofspalast zu Side', *Ist.Mitt.* 55 (2005), 337–408, at 346 and 372, fig. 24b.



Figure 5.5 Istanbul, Eski Imaret Camii, south façade from southeast



Figure 5.6 Side in Pamphylia, harbour church, south façade

by a large, twice-recessed blind arcade. All the arches are built of brick. The relative austerity of the façade without any niches has led Buchwald to suggest a tenth-century date,⁴² because later façades are generally more articulate. Alternatively, the simplicity may have resulted from the limitations of local builders and/or the reused materials unsuitable for any more sophisticated decoration. In that case the harbour chapel may also date from the eleventh century.⁴³ Even if newly cut, the use of stone rather than bricks as the main building material that had always been more common in Anatolia and remained predominant throughout the Byzantine period would seem to discourage a more detailed articulation of the façade. (3) The northern façade of the Karagedik or Ihlara Kilise in Cappadocia (Figure 5.7)⁴⁴ is similarly built

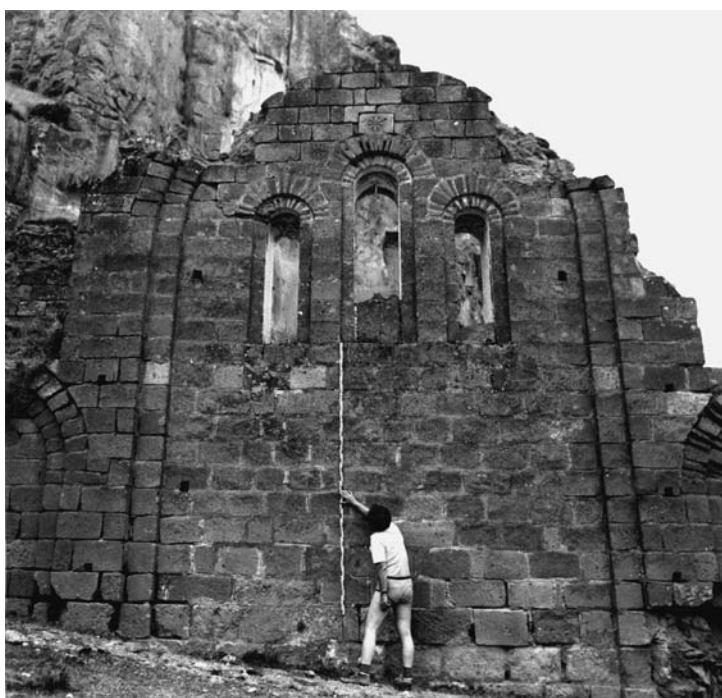


Figure 5.7 Karagedik or Ihlara Kilise in Cappadocia, north façade

⁴² H. Buchwald, 'Criteria for the Evaluation of Transitional Byzantine Architecture', *JÖB* 44 (1994), 21–31, at 29, n. 28.

⁴³ V. Ruggieri, 'Appunti sulla continuità urbana di Side, in Panfilia', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61 (1995), 95–116, at 113–15.

⁴⁴ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 274–6; G.L. Bell and W.M. Ramsay, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909—repr. Philadelphia, 2008), 418–24, figs 341–5; M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, Österreichische Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 138 = *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 3 (Vienna, 1979), 83, pls 147–54, plan 48;

of cut stone with brick arches, but the quality of workmanship and degree of articulation are higher. The stones are regular in shape and seem to have been newly cut for the building. The central section of the façade has three recessed windows, and the eastern section is decorated with a niche. The building can possibly be dated to the late tenth century, if that is indeed the date of fresco paintings in the interior.

The dilemma of any stylistic approach to Middle Byzantine architecture is best illustrated by the Çanlı Kilise at Akhisar, also in Cappadocia (Figure 5.8).⁴⁵ The building consists of two stylistically distinct parts, the narthex to the west and the *naos* to the east. The narthex has two storeys with simple arched openings. A moulding around the arches of the upper



Figure 5.8 Çanlı Kilise at Akhisar in Cappadocia, south façade from southwest

Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 192, pl. 155; Ousterhout, *Byzantine Settlement*, 77, fig. 66; P. Androudis, 'Ο μεσοβυζαντινός ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου (Karagedik Kilise) στην κοιλάδα του Περιστρέμματος (Belisırma) της Καππαδοκίας', *Byzantina* 28 (2008), 161–79; M.S. Pekak and A.N. Soykan, 'Aksaray, Belisırma Köyü, Karagedik Kilise', *Hacettepe Üniversitesi. Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 30/1 (2013), 199–225; Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 86–9.

⁴⁵ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 258–62, pl. 96; Bell and Ramsay, *Thousand and One Churches*, 404–18, figs 331–40; Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, 84, pls 155–63, plan 49; Ousterhout, *Byzantine Settlement*, 25–90; Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 89–93.

storey forms the only decoration, and large areas of plain wall give an impression of weight and solidity. The narthex closely resembles Early Byzantine architecture (see below), but structural analyses of the church have shown that it was only built after the Middle Byzantine *naos* had already been erected to the east of it. The southern façade of the *naos*, by contrast, presents examples of the key diagnostic features. It is decorated with bands of brick and two registers of thrice-recessed blind arcades. The arcades of the lower register are built of brick and supported by miniature engaged half-columns; the spandrels are filled with concentrically aligned bricks that form a geometric pattern. It follows from a comparison of the traditional narthex and the relatively advanced *naos* of Çanlı Kilise that style was not simply a matter of chronology but depended mainly on choice and/or workshop. Whilst the narthex was surely executed by a local workshop, the *naos* has been attributed to outside influence from Constantinople and dated to the eleventh century,⁴⁶ although some comparable architecture there and elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire dates from the Late Byzantine period.⁴⁷

Eleventh-century comparisons for the engaged half-columns on the south façade of the Çanlı Kilise may be found in the brick façades of Constantine IX Monomachos' St George of Mangana in Constantinople⁴⁸ and of San Marco in Venice, before the narthex was added in the thirteenth century.⁴⁹ Alternatively, a different scenario might be envisaged, the leading role in architectural innovation being played by Anatolia. The *naos* of Çanlı Kilise might be considered to be an Anatolian development, depending on how other Anatolian monuments are placed. Compare for example the Middle Byzantine cross-in-square church number 35 at Binbirkilise in Lycaonia as seen by Gertrude Bell over a hundred years ago.⁵⁰ The tympanum of the main west door is flanked by ornamental niches with triple brick arcades. The north façade is decorated with a pattern of regularly spaced niches. The Alakilise on Ali Suması Dağ in Lycaonia, another Middle Byzantine cross in square church, again photographed by Bell,⁵¹ can also be brought into consideration. The

⁴⁶ Ousterhout, *Byzantine Settlement*, 73–90.

⁴⁷ Warland, *BZ* 100 (2007), 881–8.

⁴⁸ R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople, Recherches françaises en Turquie* 2 (Paris, 1939), 23, figs 21–2; N. Asgari, 'Istanbul Temel Kazılarında Haberler 1983', *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2 (1984), 43–62, at 53, figs 6–7.

⁴⁹ O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 6 (Washington, D.C., 1960), 98; I. Favaretto and M. Da Villa Urbani, eds, *Ferdinando Ongania: la Basilica di San Marco, 1881–1893* (Venice, 2011), 119, cat. 13; p. 179, cat. 15–18.

⁵⁰ Bell and Ramsay, *Thousand and One Churches*, 183–9, figs 149–53. Cf. M. Jackson, 'Binbirkilise', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 312–20.

⁵¹ Bell and Ramsay, *Thousand and One Churches*, 399–405, figs 324–7. For the location cf. K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 4 = Österreichische Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., *Denkschriften* 172 (Vienna, 1984), 121.



Figure 5.9 Alakilise on Ali Suması Dağ in Lycaonia, west façade

western façade (Figure 5.9) is decorated with a horizontal moulding similar to that on the narthex of Çanlı Kilise. Following Early Byzantine tradition, the moulding forms a semicircular arch above the door, but the tympanum is twice recessed, which is a new, Middle Byzantine feature. Also new are the flanking, arched, and recessed blind niches that form a second register. They are topped by a third register with a large thrice-recessed window niche in the centre.

The southern façade of the Alakilise (Figure 5.10) is as complex as that at Çanlı Kilise, with a rough base, a plain second register, a third register full of twice-recessed niches, some of which are pierced by windows, and a fourth



Figure 5.10 Alakilise on Ali Suması Dağ in Lycaonia, south façade from southeast

register with three blind arcades on antiquated pilasters. The plain second and the crowded third registers contrast starkly, as do the first and the second and third registers on the western façade, and the overall design of the Alakilise is hardly a success. It remains to be determined whether it came about through an attempt to integrate modern Constantinopolitan elements into old-fashioned Anatolian building traditions, in which case a later, possibly eleventh-century date would be indicated. Alternatively, the Alakilise and the church at Binbirkilise may mark experimental stages of an earlier Anatolian development and date from the tenth century.

The same alternatives are possible at Fisandon, also in Lycaonia, where a church was turned into a mosque by a sixteenth-century pasha and thereby preserved (Figure 5.11).⁵² On all sides a rough base and a plain second register are topped by a traditional moulding. The third register above the moulding is again filled with numerous recessed niches and windows, in this case with

⁵² Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, 154–6; S. Eyice, *Karadağ (Binbirkilise) ve Karaman Çevresinde Arkeolojik İncelemeler*, Türkiye’de Ortaçağ Sanatı Araştırmaları 2 = İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından 1587 (İstanbul, 1971), 84–9, 221f., figs 219–30.

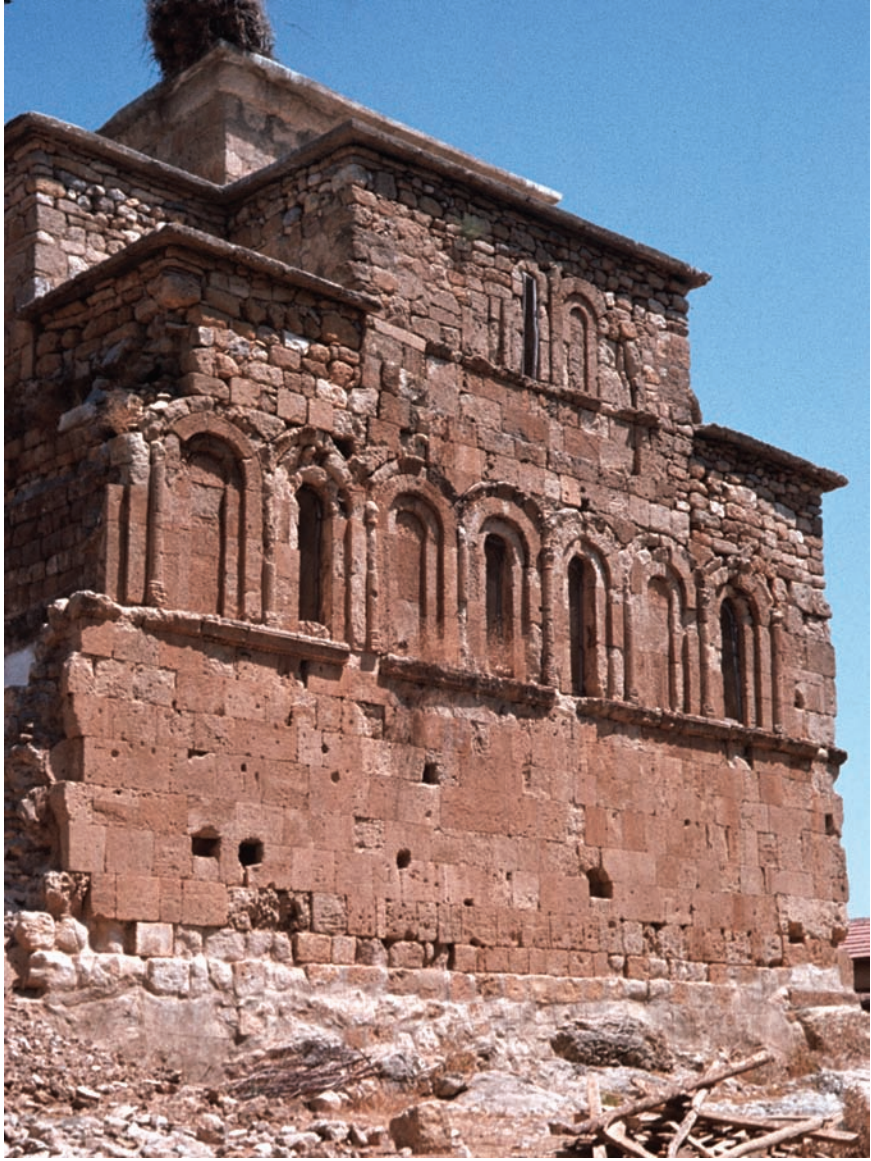


Figure 5.11 Fisandon in Lycaonia, south façade from southwest

engaged half-columns supporting a moulded arcade. At the top of the southern façade a fourth register is formed by a twice-recessed arcade that contains three stepped and twice-recessed niches. Engaged half-columns are also present on the southern elevation of the Çanlı Kilise, but there they lack the base provided by the moulding at Fisandon. Moreover, at Çanlı Kilise the half-columns supposedly support the brick-arches and spandrels, but seem

too small and fragile for this task. In contrast, at Fisandon the size of the half-columns seems appropriate for the arcade above. Does this imply an earlier date for Fisandon, whereas at Çanlı Kilise the originally Anatolian half-columns were later unsuccessfully combined with alien brickwork?

Comparisons with Early Byzantine churches from Cappadocia may strengthen the argument for Anatolian roots of the façades at Fisandon and Alakilise. See for example the south-eastern aspect of the Panagia at Tomarza and the north-western elevation of the Forty Martyrs at Skupi, both as they were in 1906, when Hans Rott was surveying the region.⁵³ Compare the horizontal mouldings that frame the arches of windows and doors, as well as the pilasters with bases and capitals similar to those on the southern façade of the Alakilise.

These Anatolian traditions, however, do not necessarily imply an early date. The narthex of the Çanlı Kilise is also decorated with the traditional moulding around the arched windows of the upper storey and without any modern traits, but was built after the blatantly Middle Byzantine *naos*. Traditions remained alive and will have been omnipresent, as much of the Early Byzantine architecture must still have been standing and remained in use. Thus, the date of all the Anatolian churches under discussion remains open. An earlier, tenth-century date would imply that Anatolia played an important part in the development of architectural style, but would leave the eleventh century with few monuments. A later, eleventh-century date would make Anatolian church building look like a provincial backwater, clumsily trying to imitate a formal repertoire that had previously been developed elsewhere. Both scenarios are unfavourable for eleventh-century Anatolia, where churches were in any case smaller in size and fewer in number than they had been previously or were in the contemporary Aegean, Greece, and the Balkans. This may be confirmed by a few, typically small and architecturally undistinguished churches in Anatolian provincial towns, the building or renovation of which has also been dated⁵⁴ or attributed⁵⁵ to the eleventh century.⁵⁶

⁵³ Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 182–7, 192–9. Cf. S. Hill, 'The Early Christian Church at Tomarza, Cappadocia: A Study Based on Photographs Taken in 1909 by Gertrude Bell', *DOP* 29 (1975), 149–64; Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, 63–73, pls 39–44; Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 31–5.

⁵⁴ N. Arslan and K. Rheidt, 'Assos. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen zur Stadtentwicklungsgeschichte 2006 bis 2011', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2013/1), 195–246, at 228–38; B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, 'Assos', in P. Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia* (New York, 2017), 217–25, at 224.

⁵⁵ F. Işık, *Patara: The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League* (Antalya, 2000), 110 (twelfth to thirteenth century); V. Ruggieri, 'Patara: due casi di architettura bizantina e la continuità urbana', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 75 (2009), 319–41, at 332–41 (eleventh century); U. Peschlow, 'Patara', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 280–90, at 289.

⁵⁶ Other churches do not seem to date from the eleventh century: R. Cormack, 'Byzantine Aphrodisias: Changing the Symbolic Map of a City', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 216 (1990), 26–41, at 34–6 suggests a late tenth- or early eleventh-century date for the templon epistyle of the Triconch Church at Aphrodisias, but R.R.R. Smith and C. Ratté,

TEMPLON EPISTYLES

The evidence of marble templon epistyles parallels that of churches. The epistyles, too, do not necessarily adhere to any overall stylistic development. The large numbers that have been found in Anatolia are therefore hard to date precisely or even relatively. There is also no question of squeezing their production into a single century, whether the eleventh or any other. This can be demonstrated from the small minority of six epistyles that are dated by inscriptions. They were made over four centuries—four belong to the tenth century, one to the eleventh, and one to the thirteenth.

The six dated epistyles cannot be arranged in a chronologically ordered stylistic sequence, as the following survey shows. (1) The eleventh-century epistyle, which is dated to 1063/1064 AD⁵⁷ and was found at Sohut Kasaba near Afyon in eastern Phrygia, typically depicts an arcade with palmettos and other geometrical decoration. (2) An earlier, tenth-century epistyle, built into the wall of the Ulu Camii in Manisa (Figure 5.12),⁵⁸ shows arcades with palmettos again, in addition to lions and large, eight-petalled flowers.⁵⁹ The dedicatory



Figure 5.12 Manisa, Ulu Camii, reused templon epistyle (967 AD)

'Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993', *AJA* 99 (1995), 33–58, at 48–51 have found a drain with four coins of the end of the sixth century or the first half of the seventh century below floor level. V.M. Tekinalp, 'Remodelling the Monastery of Hagios Ioannes in Prusa at Olympum', in Ioannisian and Jolshin, *Architecture of Byzantium and Kievan Rus*, 162–77 (twelfth century).

⁵⁷ W.H. Buckler, W.M. Calder, and W.K.C. Guthrie, *Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*, Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua 4 (Manchester, 1933), 32, cat. 95, pl. 27; G. Pallis, 'Inscriptions on Middle Byzantine Marble Templon Screens', *BZ* 106 (2013), 761–810, at 782 cat. 16.

⁵⁸ J. Strzygowski, 'Das griechisch-kleinasiatische Ornament um 967 n. Chr.', *Wiener Studien* 24 (1902), 443–7; Pallis, 'Inscriptions', 780–1, cat. 12.

⁵⁹ Lions (and eagles) in various postures are common on Early and Middle Byzantine stone carvings, and Palaiologan lion (and eagle) iconography may reflect this tradition as well as Latin heraldry. Cf. R. Ousterhout, 'Symbole der Macht: mittelalterliche Heraldik zwischen Ost und West', in M. Mersch and U. Ritzerfeld, eds, *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen: kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters* (Berlin, 2009), 91–109; B. Popović, 'Imperial Usage of Zoomorphic Motifs on Textiles: The Two-Headed Eagle and the Lion in Circles and between Crosses in the Late Byzantine Period', *Ikon* 2 (2009), 127–36; S.Y. Ötügen, 'Myra'daki Arslanlı Levha ve On İkinci ve On Üçüncü Yüzyıl Ortaçağ Taş Eserlerinde Üslup ve İkonografik Değişimler', in A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, and N. Necipoğlu, eds, *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Istanbul, 2010), 554–62. For lions (and eagles) on Early and Middle Byzantine stone

inscription refers to the tenth indiction in 6475 after creation or 967 AD. (3) The earliest Anatolian epistyle dates from 934/935 AD and was found built into a wall of the Sahablar Sultan Tekke at Afyon.⁶⁰ The broken left end has preserved one column of an arcade, but otherwise the relief is more crowded, agitated, and lively than in the eleventh-century specimen. In this respect, it may be compared with the eleventh-century templon of Hosios Loukas. In Greece, baroque opulence was increasing over time, with a climax in the Palaiologan period.⁶¹ In Anatolia, a similarly stringent development is not discernible, on the contrary:

(4) An epistyle from Notion in Asia, dated to 960 AD,⁶² and (5) one from Akroinon in Phrygia, which appears to have been carved between 945 and 959,⁶³ belong, like no. 2, to the intervening period between the earliest (no. 3) on the one hand and the eleventh-century epistyle (no. 1) on the other. Stylistically, though, they cannot be compared with either of them or no. 2. The reliefs are shallow and follow relatively simple patterns that are already known from Early Byzantine stonemasonry, floor mosaics, and textiles.⁶⁴ Compare for example a marble transenna of eastern origin that is kept at San Michele in Ravenna.⁶⁵

Finally, (6) an epistyle at the Archaeological Museum in Manisa bears a verse inscription that can be ascribed to the thirteenth century,⁶⁶ when

carvings see for example J. Kramer, *Skulpturen mit Adlerfiguren an Bauten des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Konstantinopel* (Cologne, 1968); P. Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Tempelanlagen aus Anatolien: die Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums Kütahya und ihr Kontext', *Ist.Mitt.* 58 (2008), 285–345, at 290, 316f., cat. 11f., figs 1, 15f.; P. Niewöhner, 'Zoomorphic Rainwater Spouts', in P. Stephenson, ed., *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), 163–81.

⁶⁰ Buckler, Calder, and Guthrie, *Monuments and Documents*, 12, cat. 38, pl. 17; Pallis, 'Inscriptions', 784, cat. 24.

⁶¹ C. Vanderheyde, 'The Carved Decoration of Middle and Late Byzantine Temples', *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 5 (2007), 77–111, at 91–3; C. Bouras, 'Diatrita marmarina mesobyzantina glypta stin Ellada', in C. Pennas and C. Vanderheyde, eds, *La sculpture byzantine 7e–12e siècles*, BCH Suppl. 49 (Athens, 2008), 469–85.

⁶² T. Macridy, 'Altertümer von Notion', *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 8 (1905), 155–73, at 158f., figs 41–3; T. Macridy, 'Antiquités de Notion 2', *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 15 (1912), 36–67, at 40f., fig. 17; Pallis, 'Inscriptions', 779, cat. 8.

⁶³ J.-C. Cheynet and T. Drew-Bear, 'Une inscription d'Akroïnos datant de Constantin Porphyrogénète. Avec une note de Jean-Pierre Sodini', *REB* 62 (2004), 215–28; Pallis, 'Inscriptions', 785, cat. 25.

⁶⁴ J. Trilling, *The Medallion Style: A Study in the Origins of Byzantine Taste* (New York, 1985); F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna*, II. 3 (Stuttgart, 1989), 324–6, figs 40–50; C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli: l'arredo marmoreo della grande chiesa giustiniana*, Studi di antichità cristiana 60 (Rome, 2004), 490–529.

⁶⁵ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, II. 3, fig. 42.

⁶⁶ Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Tempelanlagen', 296f., 342f., cat. 58, fig. 62; Pallis, 'Inscriptions', 804, cat. 1h.



Figure 5.13 Manisa, archaeological museum, templon epistyle (thirteenth century)

John III Vatatzes (1222–1254) resided in the town (Figure 5.13). This latest member of the Anatolian group displays classical simplicity and could hardly be further removed from the baroque opulence of contemporary Greek epistyles. The lozenge-decoration harks back to Early Byzantine slabs and epistyles, for example in the Justinianic church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople.⁶⁷ At Manisa, only the inscription, the medallions, and the longish leaves in the spandrels of the lozenges are clearly not of an early date.

In this overview of the dated epistyles from Anatolia, starting with the year 938 and ending with the thirteenth century, no continuous stylistic development is apparent, and new features like the arcades with palmettos alternate with references to the Early Byzantine tradition. The latter might be explained by the fact that many Middle Byzantine epistyles were apparently made to repair Early Byzantine churches and their templa.

Numerous Middle Byzantine templon epistyles show alterations typical of improvised repair work, for example two fragments of the same epistyle at the Archaeological Museum in Kütahya.⁶⁸ On the bottom side of each block a square recess has been scraped out, and on the short fragment the recess cuts into the ornamentation. The same can be observed on many Middle Byzantine epistyles. The recesses were obviously meant to fit onto capitals and posts. Such capitals, which have survived in great numbers, are normally of smaller width than the epistyles—hence the smallish size of the recesses. Most capitals date from the Early Byzantine period, and the Middle Byzantine slabs were apparently carved to repair the loss of the original, Early Byzantine epistyles.

⁶⁷ Barsanti and Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli*, 264–72, figs 118–41.

⁶⁸ Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Templonanlagen', 335f., cat. 47f., figs 51f.

The most likely reason why Early Byzantine templon epistyles have not survived⁶⁹ is that they were made of wood⁷⁰ and may have been revetted with silver and other precious materials.⁷¹ By the Middle Byzantine period, they could have fallen prey to looting, fire, woodworm, or rot and seem to have been replaced by more durable and economic marble epistyles.⁷² The latter are extremely numerous, with hundreds of specimens known in Anatolia alone.⁷³ This ratio of predominantly Early Byzantine posts and capitals, but mostly Middle Byzantine epistyles, seems to confirm that the epistyles replaced wooden predecessors whilst posts and capitals had always been made of marble and therefore stayed in use.⁷⁴ The early date of the reused elements

⁶⁹ For a few exceptional cases of surviving early Byzantine marble templon epistyles, see F. Mesesnel, 'Die Ausgrabungen einer altchristlichen Basilika in Suvodol bei Bitolj', in B.D. Filov, ed., *Actes du 4e Congrès international des études byzantines* 2, Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 10 (Nendeln, 1936), 184–94, at 188, 190–1, figs 131–3; A.K. Orlandos, 'Ανασκαφή της παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής Τριών Εκκλησιών Πάρου', *Prakt.* 116 (1960), 246–57, at 249, pl. 186 a.d; K. Kolokotsas and J.-P. Sodini, *Aliki 2. La basilique double*, Études thasiennes 10 (Athens, 1984), 154, fig. 129, pls 54 h–j; P. Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae. L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (4e–7e s.)*, Salona 2 (Rome, 1995–1996), vol. 1, p. 287; vol. 2, p. 180, figs 1, 3; P. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien: Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jh. n. Chr.*, Aizanoi 1 = Archäologische Forschungen 23 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 145–7, 251, cat. 305–6, pl. 31; P. Niewöhner, *Die byzantinischen Basiliken von Milet*, Milet 1, 11 (Berlin, 2016) 47, 203, cat. MK234–5; P. Niewöhner, 'The Decline and Afterlife of the Roman Entablature. The Collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul and Other Byzantine Epistyles and Cornices from Constantinople', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 67 (2017), 237–328, at 314–16, fig. 171. Cf. also the epistyle of the colonnade around the grave of St Peter on the Pula Casket: W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 7³ (Mainz, 1976), 85, cat. 120, pl. 64.

⁷⁰ Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Templananlagen', 298.

⁷¹ Cf. M. Mundell Mango, 'The Monetary Value of Silver Revetments and Objects Belonging to Churches, A.D. 300–700', in S.A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango, eds, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 123–36, at 123–32.

⁷² Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Templananlagen', 299–305.

⁷³ For example J.-P. Sodini, 'Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos', in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul 27 (Paris, 1980), 119–48; C. Barsanti, 'Scultura anatolica di epoca mediobizantina', in C. Barsanti, A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, and A. Jacobini, eds, *Milion* (Milan, 1988), 275–95; H. Buchwald, 'Chancel Barrier Lintels Decorated with Carved Arcades', *JÖB* 45 (1995), 233–76; J.-P. Sodini, 'La sculpture médio-byzantine: le marbre en ersatz et tel qu'en lui-même', in G. Dagron and C. Mango, eds, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 3 (Aldershot, 1995), 289–311, at 299–304; E. Parman, *Ortaçağda bizans döneminde Frigya (Phrygia) ve bölge müzelerindeki bizans taş eserleri*, T.C. Anadolu üniversitesi yayınları 1347 = *Edebiyat* fakültesi yayınları 11 (Eskişehir, 2002), 95–117; C. Barsanti, 'La scultura mediobizantina fra tradizione e innovazione', in F. Conca and G. Ficcardi, eds, *Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni: forme della produzione letteraria e artistica*, Giornata di Studi Bizantini 8 = Quaderni di Acme 87 (Milan, 2007), 5–49, at 36–48; V. Ruggieri and M. Turillo, *La scultura bizantina ad Antiochia di Pisidia*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 288 (Rome, 2011); Niewöhner, 'Decline and Afterlife', 320–4.

⁷⁴ Niewöhner, 'Mittelbyzantinische Templananlagen', 299.

and the early churches for which the marble reliefs were made may well have inspired the use of earlier forms for the decoration of Middle Byzantine epistyles.⁷⁵ In this respect, the liturgical furniture may be compared with architecture, for example the narthex of the Çanlı Kilise and its references to Early Byzantine façades.

The absence of similar anachronistic references in Greece and the Balkans, where the formal repertoire of Middle Byzantine architecture and stonemasonry is more coherent,⁷⁶ might be explained by the Slavic invasions in the seventh century and the ensuing disruption of tradition and loss of most monuments from the Early Byzantine period that seem to have had such a conservative effect in Anatolia.

The conservative effect of repair work as opposed to new foundations is most obvious in the case of the basilica of St Sophia at Iznik/Nicaea.⁷⁷ It was rebuilt in the eleventh century after the same earthquake that led to the rebuilding of the church of the Dormition. Whilst the latter employed modern forms, the rebuilding of St Sophia is hardly recognizable as eleventh-century architecture. The result is stilted and heavysset, both inside and out. The eastern façade lacks any of the playful articulation and attention to detail that is otherwise typical of the age. Even the new drums above the pastophoria are lowly proportioned. The only evidently late feature is some *opus sectile* pavement inside the main door of the nave.⁷⁸ It is of the highest quality and a warning not to write eleventh-century Anatolia off for lack of more modern architecture (unless, of course, it dates from the thirteenth century, as has recently been suggested).⁷⁹

A similar case can be made for the baptistery of the east basilica at Xanthos in Lycia. After the large basilica had been ruined, the small tetraconch baptistery was turned into a church in the eleventh century.⁸⁰ This happened in a makeshift way by adding a narthex to the west and a diaconicon to the north, as well as by replacing the east conch with a bema and apsis. The only recognizable eleventh-century stylistic features are engaged half-columns on the outer corner of the polygonal apse, the carving of a new templon epistyle, and some frescoes.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Cf. M. Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, Asia Minor Studien 25 (Münster, 1997), 176 for similarities between Early and Middle Byzantine capitals.

⁷⁶ Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 345–435.

⁷⁷ S. Möllers, *Die Hagia Sophia in Iznik, Nikaia* (Alfter, 1994).

⁷⁸ S. Eyice, 'Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia', *DOP* 17 (1963), 373–83, at 373–5, figs 1–10; Y. Demiriz, *Interlaced Byzantine Mosaic Pavements* (Istanbul, 2002), 84–93.

⁷⁹ C. Pinatsi, 'New Observations on the Pavement of the Church of Haghia Sophia in Nicaea', *BZ* 99 (2006), 120–6.

⁸⁰ J.-P. Sodini, 'Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos'.

⁸¹ C. Jolivet-Levy, 'Peintures byzantines inédites à Xanthos (Lycie)', in H. Hunger and W. Hörandner, eds, *16. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress 2 = JÖB 32* (Vienna, 1982), V, 73–84.

Another case of repair work that does not reflect any contemporary style or fashion is the temple of Zeus at Middle Byzantine Aezani in Phrygia. The remaining northern façade of the temple preserves an inscription commemorating its renovation in 1004/1005 AD.⁸² At that time, the cella was used as a church, although it had no windows.⁸³ An apse was added at the eastern end of the cella, where it was seen and described in 1826 by Léon de Laborde,⁸⁴ but has not survived to our days.⁸⁵

FORTIFICATIONS

The temple of Zeus at Aezani was surrounded by an ancient temenos that served as a graveyard for the Middle Byzantine church. Towards the end of the eleventh century the graves were built over by houses that contained coins of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025), Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078), and Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081).⁸⁶ The settlement probably came into being because the temenos was turned into a fortress.⁸⁷ The fortress itself is not dated, but the late eleventh-century houses make it likely that the fortifications were put up after the battle of Manzikert (1071) for defence against the invading Turks. Earlier than this, Aezani had been larger. An Early Byzantine church had been incorporated into an ancient bath on the other, eastern side of the Penkalas River, and a surrounding graveyard contained burials from the ninth century.⁸⁸ More Middle Byzantine graves have been found in the ruins of a second thermal complex to the west of the river.⁸⁹ Compared with the earlier period, the eleventh-century kastron appears tiny.

⁸² B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter, et al., eds, *Monuments from the Aezanitis recorded by C.W.M. Cox, A. Cameron and J. Cullen*, Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua 9 = Journal for Roman Studies Monographs 4 (London, 1988), 170f., cat. 557; D. Feissel, 'Bulletin épigraphique. Phrygie', *REG* 103 (1990), 605–7, at 607. Cf. liturgical vessels from the Middle Byzantine period that were found in the vicinity of the church: F. Stroth, 'Aezani', in Niewöhner, ed., *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia* (New York, 2017), 327–32, at 329–30, figs 30.3–4.

⁸³ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 153–5.

⁸⁴ *Voyage de l'Asie mineure par MM. Alexandre de Laborde, Becker, Hall et Léon de Laborde*, ed. L. de Laborde (Paris, 1838), 55.

⁸⁵ For a plan of the remains as in the 1920s see R. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel zu Aizanoi*, *Denkmäler Antiker Architektur* 12 (Berlin, 1979), 76.

⁸⁶ K. Rheidt, 'Aizanoi: die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen 1997 bis 2000', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2001), 241–67, at 249, note 37. Cf. a metal hoard from the Middle Byzantine period that was also found among the houses: Stroth, 'Aezani', 331–2, fig. 30.6.

⁸⁷ C. Naumann, 'Die mittelalterliche Festung von Aizanoi-Çavdarhisar', *Ist.Mitt.* 35 (1985), 275–94.

⁸⁸ R. Naumann, 'Aizanoi: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1981 und 1982', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1984), 453–530, at 472f., fig. 26f.

⁸⁹ R. Naumann, 'Aizanoi: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1978', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1980), 123–36, at 131; R. Naumann, 'Aizanoi: Bericht über die

Other Anatolian cities had to take similar measures to defend themselves against the Turks.⁹⁰ Sardis in Lydia, for example, and Aphrodisias in Caria had constructed extensive walls in the Early Byzantine period, but made do with small fortresses in the eleventh century. At Sardis, the fortress was built originally in the seventh or eighth century, when the Arabs invaded Anatolia. In the eleventh century, it was rebuilt and the interior space was filled with houses. Other areas within the ancient city—around the temple of Artemis, the basilical church, and the gymnasium—were occupied in the eleventh century but were not secured with defensive walls.⁹¹ At Aphrodisias, where there is no acropolis, the theatre was fortified instead at the time of Turkish attacks.⁹² Other Middle Byzantine finds point to occupation around the triconch church,⁹³ the temple church,⁹⁴ and a neighbouring house commonly referred to as the bishop's palace.⁹⁵ The archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the eleventh-century occupation of Sardis and Aphrodisias was at best patchy. There may have been more inhabitants than could be accommodated by the fortresses, but probably no sizeable urban population, otherwise more extensive fortifications would surely have been built.

The situation was different at Miletus, where the Byzantine fortifications were never restricted to a single small fortress. The nodal point of the defences was once again the theatre, which, as at Aphrodisias, was converted into a fortress at the time of the Arab invasions, and was later renovated.⁹⁶ An Early Byzantine curtain wall cut across the auditorium of the theatre like the string of a bow. This stretch of curtain wall originally doubled a more extensive circuit that had been built after 600 AD, probably against the Arabs, and also

Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1979 und 1980', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1982), 345–82, at 381f., figs 57–60.

⁹⁰ J. Crow, 'Fortifications', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 90–108.

⁹¹ C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 4 (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 70–5; C. Foss and J.A. Scott, 'Sardis', in A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington, D.C., 2002), II, 615–22, at 618f.; M. Rautman, 'Sardis', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 231–7.

⁹² K. Erim, '1971 Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 20 (1973), 63–87, at 64f.; Ö. Dalgic and A. Sokolicek, 'Aphrodisias', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 269–79.

⁹³ See above note 56.

⁹⁴ R. Cormack, 'The Temple as the Cathedral', in K.T. Erim and C. Roueché, eds, *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, Journal for Roman Archaeology Supplement 1 (Ann Arbor, 1990), 75–88, at 84–7.

⁹⁵ C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions* (rev.ed., 2004), <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004>>, VII.6. Cf. J.W. Nesbitt, 'Byzantine Lead Seals from Aphrodisias', *DOP* 37 (1983), 159–64.

⁹⁶ W. Müller-Wiener, 'Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien', *Ist.Mitt.* 11 (1961), 5–122, at 24–34; W. Müller-Wiener, 'Das Theaterkastell von Milet', *Ist.Mitt.* 17 (1967), 279–90.

included the ancient city centre to the southeast, below the theatre hill.⁹⁷ Later, the low-lying ancient city centre was given up and deserted in the course of the Middle Byzantine period. By the time the Turks started to invade the region towards the end of the eleventh century, the Early Byzantine city walls had long been destroyed by an earthquake and lay buried under silt. In their stead, the adjacent hilltop to the northeast of the theatre was now surrounded by a new wall, creating a fortified *kastron* that comprised the semi-circular theatre to the southwest, a centrally located citadel, and the newly fortified hilltop to the northeast (Figure 5.14).⁹⁸

The masonry of the late wall around the top of the theatre hill is different from that of the extended Early Byzantine circuit that also surrounded the city centre below. It consists of irregular courses of small stones and includes few larger blocks. A rectangular tower to the north of the theatre was originally part of the extensive Early Byzantine city walls and may date from the seventh or eighth century (Figure 5.15). Its lower part is built exclusively of large blocks, with round column shafts, and can be compared with a tower in the Early Byzantine city walls to the east of the theatre hill.⁹⁹ The upper part of the theatre tower, by contrast, is built of small stones similar to those used in the wall around the top of the theatre hill (Figure 5.16). This looks like a later repair, dating from a period when the ancient city centre and its extensive Early Byzantine fortifications had been given up and replaced by the smaller and more defensive site on top of the theatre hill—probably towards the end of the eleventh century or later.

The urban development of Miletus may thus be reconstructed as follows. The ancient city occupied a peninsula and was surrounded by walls that were restored in the third century and were probably maintained throughout Late Antiquity.¹⁰⁰ Later, after 600 AD and probably in the seventh century when

⁹⁷ P. Niewöhner, 'An Ancient Cave Sanctuary Underneath the Theatre of Miletus, Beauty, Mutilation, and Burial of Ancient Sculpture in Late Antiquity, and the History of the Seaward Defences', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2016/1), 67–156.

⁹⁸ P. Niewöhner, 'Neue spät- und nachantike Monumente von Milet und der mittelbyzantinische Zerfall des anatolischen Städtewesens', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2013/2), 165–233; P. Niewöhner, 'The End of the Byzantine City in Anatolia. The Case of Miletus', in E. Gruber, M. Popovic, M. Scheutz, and H. Weigl, eds, *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten. Topographie-Recht-Religion (9.–19. Jahrhundert)*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 66 (Vienna, 2016), 63–77.

⁹⁹ P. Niewöhner, 'The Riddle of the Market Gate: Miletus and the Character and Date of the Earlier Byzantine Fortifications of Anatolia', in O. Dally and C. Ratté, eds, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, Kelsey Museum Publications 6 (Ann Arbor, MI, 2011), 103–22, at 108, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁰ P. Niewöhner, 'The Byzantine Settlement History of Miletus and Its Hinterland—Quantitative Aspects: Stratigraphy, Pottery, Anthropology, Coins, and Palynology', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2016/2), 225–90; H. Bumke and A. Tannröver, 'Der Hafen am Humeitepe in Milet', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2017/2), 123–77.

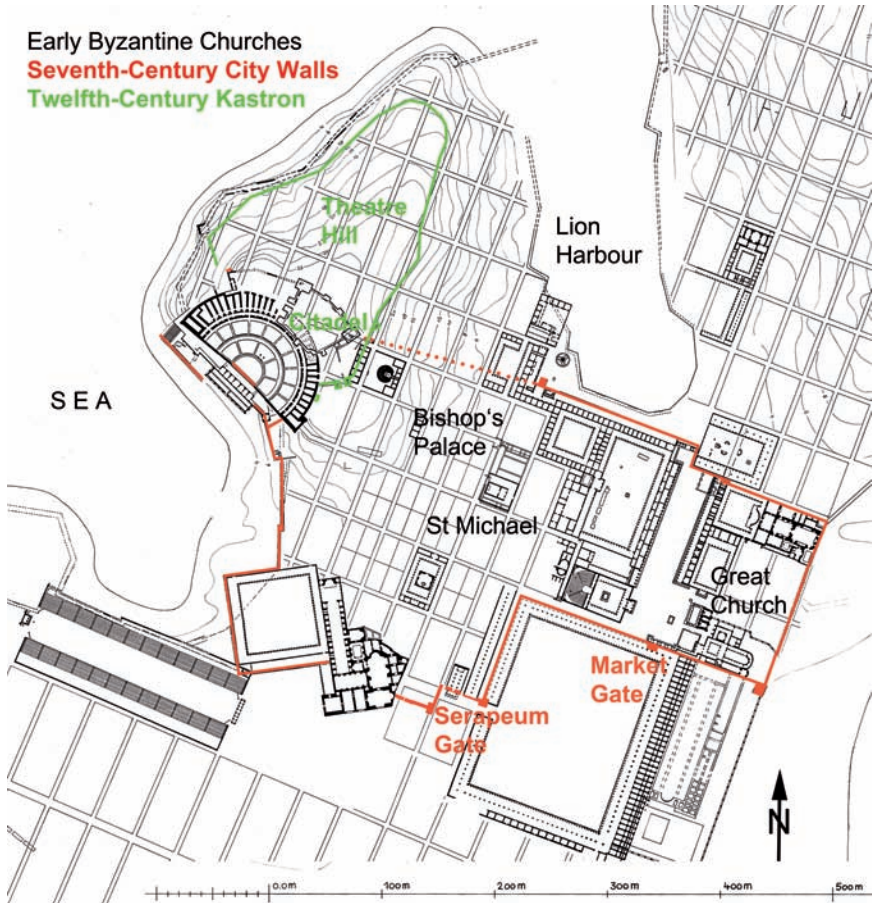


Figure 5.14 Miletus in the Middle Byzantine period

the Arabs started to invade the region, the old circuit was drastically reduced in length to include only the very centre of the ancient city (Figure 5.14). On that occasion the theatre was first incorporated into the fortifications and new stretches of wall were built across the peninsula. Shrinkage seems to have continued in the Middle Byzantine period and finally resulted in a further contraction of the fortifications. The ancient city centre was given up and was replaced by the shorter circuit of walls around the top of the theatre hill.

A similar downward trend towards an ever smaller city and a shorter fortified circuit may be observed at Patara in Lycia. Ancient fortifications surround a large urban area dotted with Early Byzantine churches—in the



Figure 5.15 Miletus, tower to the north of the theatre from northwest

centre, on an eastern hilltop, in the northern necropolis, and next to the western harbour. A first Byzantine circuit excluded all of them and was confined to the harbour area.¹⁰¹ As at Miletus, it may date from the seventh or eighth century, when the Arabs were raiding Anatolia by land and sea.¹⁰² A second set of Byzantine walls reduced the city yet further, to the most defensible tip of the harbour peninsula. As at Miletus, it is less carefully built with smaller stones and surely dates from the Turkish invasions in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰³

The evidence of fortifications correlates well with that of churches. In the eleventh century, the situation seems to have been worse than it had been during the seventh to late ninth/early tenth centuries. A later, thirteenth-century

¹⁰¹ S.-G. Bruer and M. Kunze, *Der Stadtplan von Patara und Beobachtungen zu den Stadtmauern*, Patara 1.1 = Beiträge zur Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte 4 (Istanbul, 2010), 49–77.

¹⁰² Ruggieri, 'Patara', 321–3; P. Niewöhner, 'Byzantinische Stadtmauern in Anatolien: vom Statussymbol zum Bollwerk gegen die Araber', in J. Lorentzen et al., eds, *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen*, Byzas 10 (Istanbul, 2010), 239–60, at 254–8; Peschlow, 'Patara', 285–6.

¹⁰³ Bruer and Kunze, *Stadtplan von Patara*, 79–102.



Figure 5.16 Miletus, wall around the top of the theatre hill

flourishing at Nicaea,¹⁰⁴ Magnesia ad Sipylum,¹⁰⁵ Latmos,¹⁰⁶ and Trebizond¹⁰⁷ was probably caused by the presence of imperial courts and does little to brighten the otherwise gloomy aspect of later Byzantine urbanism in Anatolia. The available evidence seems to indicate that a downward trend was well under

¹⁰⁴ C. Foss, *Nicaea: a Byzantine Capital and its Praises*, Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 21 (Brookline, 1996), 93–5; U. Peschlow, ‘The Churches of Nicaea/Iznik’, in I. Akbaygil, O. Aslanapa, and H. Inalcık, eds, *Iznik throughout History* (Istanbul, 2003), 201–18, at 208–15; R. Bondoux, ‘Les villes’, in E. Geyer and J. Lefort, eds, *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge, Réalités byzantines* 9 (Paris, 2003), 377–409, at 398; S. Möllers, ‘Nikaia’, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, VI (Stuttgart, 2005), 985; P. Niewöhner, W. Rabbel, H. Stümpel, R. Pašteka, and Ş. Bariş, ‘Eine neu entdeckte byzantinische Kirche in Iznik/Nikaia’, *Ist.Mitt.* 60 (2010), 475–91.

¹⁰⁵ C. Foss, ‘Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia’, *JÖB* 28 (1979), 297–320, at 307, repr. in C. Foss, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot, 1996), no. VI.

¹⁰⁶ U. Peschlow, ‘Latmos’, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, V (Stuttgart, 1995), 651–716; U. Peschlow, ‘Die Latmosregion in byzantinischer Zeit’, in A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Der Latmos: eine unbekannte Gebirgslandschaft an der türkischen Westküste* (Mainz, 1996), 58–86, at 71–80; U. Peschlow, ‘Die Latmosregion in byzantinischer Zeit’, in A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Herakleia am Latmos: Stadt und Umgebung* (Istanbul, 2005), 161–201.

¹⁰⁷ A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 20 (Washington, D.C., 1985), 182–90.

way by the eleventh century.¹⁰⁸ If this was indeed the case—but the many question marks surrounding, for example, the rock-cut architecture of Cappadocia and its frescoes should give us pause—we might ask why decline should have set in long before the battle of Manzikert and the Turkish invasion.

WHAT WENT WRONG?

In his book *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Speros Vryonis, like others before and after him, argues that the landed magnates had greatly increased their power by the eleventh century and that this affected the cohesion of the Byzantine Empire and its ability to withstand the Turks,¹⁰⁹ in particular as the most important of these magnates appear to have resided mainly at Constantinople, rather than on their Anatolian landholdings.¹¹⁰ While the mechanism behind this development and the overall political influence of Middle Byzantine aristocrats are still a matter of scholarly debate,¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ For additional case studies see P. Niewöhner, ed., *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks* (New York, 2017).

¹⁰⁹ G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften XII. 1, 2 (Munich, 1963), 265–74; S. Vryonis, Jr, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 4 (Berkeley, 1986), 70–80; J. Haldon, ‘Social Elites, Wealth, and Power’, in J. Haldon, ed., *A Social History of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2009), 168–211, at 182–92; P. Stephenson, ‘The Rise of the Middle Byzantine Aristocracy and the Decline of the Imperial State’, in P. Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 22–33; S. Vryonis, Jr, ‘The Eleventh Century: Was There a Crisis in the Empire? The Decline of Quality and Quantity in the Byzantine Armed Forces’, in B. Blysidou, ed., *Η αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση (:) Το Βυζάντιο τον 11ο αιώνα (1025–1081)*, *Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Διεθνή Συμπόσια* 11 (Athens, 2003), 17–43; J. Haldon, ‘L’armée au XIe siècle: quelques questions et quelques problèmes’, in B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet, eds, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, *Travaux et Mémoires* 21/2 (Paris, 2017), 581–92 (with some reservations).

¹¹⁰ M. Angold, ‘Archons and Dynasts. Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire’, in M. Angold, ed., *The Byzantine Aristocracy, 9–13 Centuries*, *BAR Int. Ser.* 221 (Oxford, 1984), 236–53; L. Andriollo and S. Métivier, ‘Quel rôle pour les provinces dans la domination aristocratique au xie siècle?’, in Flusin and Cheynet, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin*, 505–29; Jean-Claude Cheynet’s article in this volume.

¹¹¹ Cf. the various pertinent contributions to this volume and see M. Whittow, ‘Rural Fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium, 10th–12th Century’, in S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp, and D. Tsougarakis, eds, *Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango = Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21 (Amsterdam, 1995), 57–74; J.-C. Cheynet, ‘L’aristocratie byzantine (8e–13e siècle)’, *Journal des Savants* (2000), 281–322, trans. as ‘The Byzantine Aristocracy (8th–13th Centuries)’, in J.-C. Cheynet, *The Byzantine Aristocracy and Its Military Function* (Aldershot, 2006), 19–38; M. Whittow, ‘The Middle Byzantine Economy (600–1204)’, in

their dominating presence in, or absence from, Anatolia appears to be confirmed by, and can account for, the change in the archaeological record.

Churches datable to the eleventh century are typically small and have obscure rural locations, for example Üçayak, Karagedik Kilise in the Ihlara Valley, and Çanlı Kilise (all three in Cappadocia), Çeltikdere in Bithynia, Ali Suması Dağ (Alakilise), and Fisandon in Lycaonia.¹¹² In contrast, many of the larger churches built in Byzantine Anatolia before the eleventh century were apparently urban and/or episcopal foundations, for example St Nicholas at Myra, the church at Mastaura/Dereagzi, St Clement at Ankara, the lower city church at Amorium, St Michael at Germia, the Cumanin Camii at Antalya, and the cross-domed necropolis churches at Aphrodisias and Patara.¹¹³ The shift from city to country could mean that the landed elites had taken over, preferring, like Eustathios Boilas,¹¹⁴ to build small churches on their estates rather than contribute to larger urban building projects.

The elites began to leave the Anatolian cities from the fifth century,¹¹⁵ when large urban peristyle houses stopped being built and existing ones were subdivided, downgraded, given up, and left to decay.¹¹⁶ Instead, a new and different kind of aristocratic house was built for the first time, outside the cities, often in remote areas of rural Anatolia.¹¹⁷ The archaeological evidence places this new

J. Shepard, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492* (Cambridge, 2008), 465–92, at 487–91.

¹¹² See above notes 31, 40, 44–5, 51–2.

¹¹³ See above notes 14, 16–17, 20–3, 26.

¹¹⁴ Cf. K. Smyrlis's contribution to this volume and P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 15–63.

¹¹⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), II, 737–57; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001); A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire proto-byzantin*, TM monographies 13 (Paris, 2002), 1–129; H.G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006), 148–85; A. Laniado, 'From Municipal Councillors to "Municipal Landowners": Some Remarks on the Evolution of the Provincial Elites in Early Byzantium', in M. Meier and S. Patzold, eds, *Chlodwigs Welt: Organisation von Herrschaft um 500*, Roma aeterna 3 (Stuttgart, 2014), 545–66.

¹¹⁶ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 90–1 (bibliography); M. Waelkens et al., 'Two Late Antique Residential Complexes at Sagalassos', in L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis, eds, *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops*, Late Antique Archaeology 3.2 (Leiden, 2007), 495–513; A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, 'Regio VIII, insula 104: le strutture abitative—Fasi e trasformazioni', in F. D'Andria and M. Piera Caggia, eds, *Hierapolis di Frigia I: le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2000–2003* (Istanbul, 2007), 211–56; B. Rose, 'Troy and the Granicus River Valley in Late Antiquity', in Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, 151–71, at 161f.

¹¹⁷ G. Dagron and O. Callot, 'Les bâtisseurs isauriens chez eux: notes sur trois sites des environs Silifke', in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter, eds, *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1998), 55–70, at 58–61; I. Eichner, 'Sinekkale—Herberge, Kloster oder Gutshof?', *Olba*, 16 (2008), 337–60; I. Eichner, *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien: Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Wohnformen in der Region um Seleukeia am Kalykadnos*, Istanbul Forschungen 52 (Tübingen, 2011), 287–313; P. Niewöhner, 'Andriake in byzantinischer Zeit', in M. Seyer, ed., *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra* (Vienna, 2012), 223–40; P. Niewöhner, 'The Late Late Antique Origins of Byzantine Palace Architecture', in U. Wulf-Rheidt et al., eds,

phenomenon likewise in the Early Byzantine period. Confirmation that the country house had become the normal residence of the Anatolian aristocracy comes from later written sources.¹¹⁸ The best evidence concerns the following four cases.

When imperial envoys, charged with the task of finding a bride for the young Constantine VI at the end of the eighth century, caught sight of St Philaretos the Merciful's house in Paphlagonia, they assumed that it was the residence of an aristocrat because of its age, size, and beauty. They were not wrong, as they later found out when they came into its large and beautiful dining room with an old, round, and gilded ivory table.¹¹⁹ Some two centuries later, when a well-connected man of power, Philokales, took control of a village, he built his own new house there—a house later demolished when the Emperor Basil II punished him for abuse of power.¹²⁰ The other two pieces of evidence refer to the second half of the eleventh century. The inventory of a rural domain close to the Maeander estuary on the west coast of Asia Minor lists an old elite house with a domed dining room and a separate, marble-clad bath.¹²¹ Another such house, this time in Bithynia, presumably in an isolated location, was the place where Isaac and Alexios Komnenos were surprised by Turkish horsemen in 1073.¹²²

The existence of country houses like these may point to a more general deurbanization of Anatolia. This would help to explain why there was a marked contraction of urban fortifications at the time of the Turkish attacks. Ruralization had, of course, been under way since the Early Byzantine period, when, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the urban infrastructure began to decay in the aftermath of the exodus of the elite,¹²³ while the countryside remained as

The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism, Urban Spaces 4 (Berlin, 2015), 31–52; S. Giese and P. Niewöhner, 'Das byzantinische Landhaus von Kirse Yanı in Karien (Türkei)', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 66 (2016), 293–352.

¹¹⁸ Whittow, 'Rural Fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium', 62–5; P. Schreiner, 'Das Haus in Byzanz nach den schriftlichen Quellen', in H. Beck and H. Steuer, eds, *Haus und Hof in ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit. Gedenkschrift für Herbert Jankuhn*, Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas 34–5 = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Folge 3, Nr. 218 (Göttingen, 1997), 277–320; P. Sarris, 'Beyond the Great Plains and the Barren Hills. Rural Landscapes and Social Structures in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in M. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow, eds, *Being In Between: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (London, 2017), 77–87.

¹¹⁹ L. Rydén, ed. and trans., *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas*, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 8 (Uppsala, 2002), 385–7 (house), 416–20 (dining room).

¹²⁰ J. and P. Zepos, *Ius graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931), I, 265. Cf. P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos', in Angold, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 92–111, at 95.

¹²¹ M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, ed., *Vyzantina engrapha tēs Monēs Patmou 2, Dēmosiōn leitourgōn* (Athens, 1980), 7–9, 103–21.

¹²² P. Gautier, ed. and trans., *Nicephori Bryennii Historiarum libri quattuor*, *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 9 (Brussels, 1975), 157–61.

¹²³ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 87–90 (bibliography); Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century*, 209–352; F. Martens, 'Late Antique Urban Streets at Sagalassos', in

densely settled and built up as it had ever been.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, the new city walls built to withstand Arab attacks and the many large urban churches of the eighth to tenth centuries testify to the survival of the cities.¹²⁵ The Arab threat may even have worked to the advantage of the cities, because the Byzantine army and the civilian population naturally sought safety behind urban fortifications, and their presence is likely to have stimulated the urban economy.¹²⁶ Thus at Amorium, for example, a winemaking industry was established inside the city walls in the seventh and eighth centuries, when Amorium was a thematic capital.¹²⁷

Later, when the Byzantines managed to regain full control over Anatolia and to push the Arab frontier far to the south-east, Anatolian cities seem to have lost their attraction.¹²⁸ The central administration had long since levied taxes directly from rural settlements.¹²⁹ Cities were neglected and apparently largely deserted by the eleventh century, before the onset of the Turkish conquest. A shift in the social and economic centre of gravity towards the rural villages and landholdings of the aristocracy on the one hand and towards Constantinople on the other may have been an important contributory cause of the downscaling of Anatolian urbanism. Ruralization would also help to explain the boom in the rock-cut architecture in Cappadocia, if its dating to

L. Lavan, A. Sarantis, and E. Zanini, eds, *Technology in Transition A.D. 300–650*, Late Antique Archaeology 4 (Leiden, 2007), 321–65.

¹²⁴ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien*, 94–100 (bibliography); Rose, 'Troy and the Granicus River', 164. P. De Staebler and C. Ratté, 'Survey Evidence for Late Antique Settlement in the Region around Aphrodisias'. Dally and Ratté, *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor*, 123–36 observe a reduction in Late Antique settlement and population.

¹²⁵ J. Koder, 'Regional Networks in Asia Minor during the Middle Byzantine Period, Seventh–Eleventh Centuries', in C. Morrisson, ed., *Trade and Markets in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 2012), 147–75; P. Niewöhner, 'Urbanism', in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 39–50.

¹²⁶ I would like to thank Catherine Holmes for drawing my attention to this. See also Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 562; J.F. Haldon, 'Commerce and Exchange in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in Morrisson, *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, 99–122; J. Howard-Johnston, 'Authority and Control in the Interior of Asia Minor, 7th–9th Centuries', in A. Delattre, M. Legendre, and P. Sijpesteijn, eds, *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (6th–10th Century)*, Leiden Studies in Islam and Society 9 (Leiden 2018), 124–71.

¹²⁷ E. Ivison and C. Lightfoot, eds, *Amorium Reports 3: The Lower City Enclosure* (Istanbul, 2012), 34–50; C. Lightfoot, 'Business as Usual? Archaeological Evidence for Byzantine Commercial Enterprise at Amorium in the Seventh to Eleventh Centuries', in Morrisson, *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, 177–91.

¹²⁸ P. Niewöhner, 'The Collapse of Urban Consumption in Middle Byzantine Anatolia. Marble Carvings, Miletus, and Ruralisation', in J. Vroom, ed., *New Perspectives on the Byzantine City as Consumption Centre* (in press).

¹²⁹ W. Brandes and J. Haldon, 'Towns, Tax and Transformation: State, Cities and Their Hinterlands in the East Roman World, c. 500–800', in G.P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie, eds, *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), 141–72; W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–8. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2002).

the tenth and eleventh centuries and the interpretation of many structures as aristocratic housing are correct.¹³⁰ The proliferation of rock-cut monasteries would, according to this scenario, have resulted from the pull of the aristocracy, some of them being established to take care of the aristocratic dead.

Palynological evidence pointing to a general recovery and intensification of agriculture, in Cappadocia and elsewhere in Anatolia,¹³¹ confirms that the countryside flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹³² The late antique regime had collapsed during the seventh to ninth centuries, probably because of the Arab raids. The recovery apparently lasted for most of the eleventh century and was only reversed again by the Turkish conquest.¹³³ This means that eleventh-century Anatolia was not short of human or agricultural resources and confirms the hypothesis that the downscaling of urban churches and fortifications does not reflect general decline, but ruralization. It is also not surprising that, with the shift from town to country, or to Constantinople, and with the diminished size and sophistication of the remaining urban centres, Anatolian material culture tended to become simpler and more utilitarian, as for example at Cadır Höyük¹³⁴ or in the territory of Sagalassos.¹³⁵

This scenario does not explain, though, why Greece and more generally the Balkan Peninsula did so much better than Anatolia in the eleventh century.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ See above notes 2–4.

¹³¹ J.F. Haldon, ‘“Cappadocia will be given over to ruin and become a desert”: Environmental Evidence for Historically-Attested Events in the 7th–10th Centuries’, in K. Belke et al., eds, *Byzantina Mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2007), 215–30; A. England et al., ‘Historical Landscape Change in Cappadocia (Central Turkey): A Palaeoecological Investigation of Annually-Laminated Sediments from Nar Lake’, *The Holocene* 18 (2008), VIII, 1229–45; W.J. Eastwood et al., ‘Integrating Palaeoecological and Archaeo-Historical Records: Land Use and Landscape Change in Cappadocia (Central Turkey) since Late Antiquity’, in T. Vorderstrasse and J. J. Roodenberg, eds, *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 113 (Leiden, 2009), 45–69; A. Izdebski, ‘The Changing Landscapes of Byzantine Northern Anatolia’, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 16 (2012), 47–66; Niewöhner, ‘The Byzantine Settlement History of Miletus and Its Hinterland’, 270–80; A. Izdebski, ‘Rural Settlements’, in Niewöhner, *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, 82–9.

¹³² Cf. J. Lefort, ‘The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries’, in A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington, D.C., 2002), I, 231–310; J. Koder, ‘Remarks on Trade and Economy in Eleventh-Century Asia Minor: An Approach’, in Flusin and Cheynet, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin*, 649–64.

¹³³ No recovery has been observed at Balboursa: J.J. Coulton, *The Balboursa Survey and Settlement in Highland Southwest Anatolia*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 43 (London, 2012), I, 175–81.

¹³⁴ M. Cassis, ‘Cadır Höyük: A Rural Settlement in Byzantine Anatolia’, in Vorderstrasse and Roodenberg, *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia*, 1–24.

¹³⁵ H. Vanhaverbeke et al., ‘What Happened after the 7th Century AD? A Different Perspective on Post-Roman Rural Anatolia’, in Vorderstrasse and Roodenberg, *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia*, 177–90.

¹³⁶ For Greek urbanism, see for example C. Bouras, ‘Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries’, in Laiou, *Economic History of Byzantium*, II, 497–528; G.D.R. Sanders,

What was different there? Those western provinces had, of course, been lost to the Slavs, which meant that most ancient traditions had been cut. This could account for more innovative church building in the eleventh century, while Anatolia remained entangled in the Early Byzantine inheritance. But why were monastic foundations in rural Greece more opulent than in Anatolia, for example Hosios Loukas or Daphne?¹³⁷ Why would the emperors build more lavishly in Greece than in Anatolia? Was the Greek aristocracy wealthier than the Anatolian elites and with different inclinations? Did not the latter have all the advantages on their side, a bigger country, a richer past? What, therefore, went wrong in Anatolia? Why did the heartland of the Byzantine Empire apparently fall behind the Balkan provinces in the eleventh century?

'Corinth', in Laiou, *Economic History of Byzantium*, II, 647–54; Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 373–94; C. Bouras, *Byzantine Athena, 100s–120s ai.*, Mouseio Benake Supplement 6 (Athens, 2010); J. Albani and E. Chalkia, eds, *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece* (Athens, 2013); Pamela Armstrong's article in this volume.

¹³⁷ See above note 6.

Greece in the Eleventh Century

Pamela Armstrong

Greece changed dramatically in the course of the eleventh century, so that the appearance of its cities was quite altered in the year 1100 from how they looked in 1000; similarly the countryside was transformed to bring formerly marginal lands into production at the same time that naturally fertile terrains were subjected to increased intensive cultivation. The transformations can be charted in different ways: measurement of agricultural activity, development of industries, and artistic output, all coming together under the aegis of conspicuous consumption based on economic prosperity. Underpinning these was a single factor: an increase in population so that by the twelfth century there were many more settlements in the Peloponnese, central Greece, and some islands than there had been 100 years before. The principal evidence called upon in this chapter is archaeological, but written sources are included when relevant. In Greece in the last thirty-five years there have been numerous regional archaeological surveys which have evinced data about activities in the countryside, while major programmes of public works have stimulated excavations which have added much to our knowledge about the structure of cities and urban activities.

Before entering on the discussion proper, it is important to note how archaeological chronologies for the eleventh century in Greece have been established. Essentially they are based on a combination of coin and ceramic evidence, mainly from Corinth as that city is recognized as the pre-eminent authority for chronological standards amongst Byzantine excavations in Greece.¹ For the main part of the eleventh century, chronologies built on ceramics depend on amphorae, glazed chafing dishes, and imported glazed

¹ G.D.R. Sanders, 'Recent Developments in the Chronology of Byzantine Corinth', in C.K. Williams and N. Bookidis, eds, *Corinth, XX, The Centenary: 1896–1996* (Athens, 2003), 385–99.

wares.² The last decades of the eleventh century, that is, the beginning of the Komnenian era, are marked archaeologically by the introduction at a number of cities in Greece of new productions of strikingly similar ceramic tablewares.³ Glazed and decorated, they employed novel technical applications and designs that originated beyond the Balkan peninsula. The clay bodies were coated in a white slip which formed a ground for intricate painted, incised, and sgraffito patterns in 'oriental' or 'Islamic' styles. The excavations at Corinth provide the most reliable chronology for these types of ceramics, coming from the kilns themselves in the form of coins of Alexios I Komnenos.⁴ These particular ceramics are not just dating tools but have an intrinsic significance which is discussed below. While it is clear that they began to be manufactured in Greece in the eleventh century, their production continued and flourished throughout the twelfth century, although developments in form and style at individual production sites are not yet fully mapped beyond Corinth.⁵ This means that when chronologies are built on the ceramic evidence alone it is often not possible to distinguish between the last quarter of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. However, they are plentiful markers of a type which are not present in earlier centuries. Helping to identify chronology, function, and contacts both in excavated deposits and from surface survey, these ceramics are important because they are easily identifiable. For the purpose of the present chapter it is understood that the conditions that prevailed in the twelfth century had their origins in the final decades of the eleventh.

During the tenth century there were numerous raids by the Bulgarians throughout northern and central Greece; towards the close of the century they raided into the Peloponnese for the first time. The eleventh century opened with Basil II himself leading a campaign against the Bulgarians in the Balkans. The personal involvement of the emperor, notwithstanding his predisposition towards military activities, must indicate some serious degree of concern at the higher levels of government, yet the Bulgarian raids alone did not seem to have long-lasting effects on the cities and countryside of Greece. It is more likely that the Bulgarians' establishment of a base at Ohrid prompted the military response from Constantinople which eventually brought the Bulgarians to heel. For if it became the new capital of Samuel's expanded

² A.K. Vionis, 'Considering a Rural and Household Archaeology of the Byzantine Aegean: The Ceramic Spectrum', in J. Bintliff and M. Caroscio, eds, *Pottery and Social Dynamics in the Mediterranean and Beyond in Medieval and Post-Medieval Times*, BAR International Series 2557 (Oxford, 2013), 25–40.

³ *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis (Thessalonike, 1999), 25–70.

⁴ C.H. Morgan, *Corinth*, XI, *The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 10–21.

⁵ Their first detailed study by Morgan in 1942 outlines a development across 150 years based on style and form starting from the mid-eleventh century until the end of the twelfth century. More recently Guy Sanders has refined this, suggesting that the new style of Middle Byzantine production at Corinth began in the last two decades of the eleventh century and continued beyond the end of the twelfth: Sanders, 'Recent Developments'.

empire, the zone of Bulgarian influence would have shifted much more into the heart of the Balkan peninsula than it had been hitherto. In 1018 the victorious Basil II toured Greece, culminating in a visit to Athens to worship at the Church of the Mother of God on the Parthenon.⁶

The Athens that Basil visited was primarily a city focused on agriculture, as were most of the cities of Greece in the early eleventh century.⁷ A fragmentary document of unknown purpose but probably related to taxation listing eleventh-century villages in the Attic countryside together with information about the families who lived there or in Athens and their landholdings points up the provincial city as the administrative and commercial hub of its territory.⁸ But Athenians did not only own land in the territory of that city, for another fragmentary document, this one certainly to do with taxation, dated to the second half of the eleventh century, records entries for parcels of land in the territory of Thebes, some of which are owned by Athenians.⁹ This document names the taxpayers responsible for the properties, how much they should pay, whether they have any permitted tax exemptions, and where they live. Although the land subject to the taxes recorded in the *Cadaster* is in the territory of Thebes, the landowners live at some distance, in Avlona, Euripos (Chalkis), and Athens, as well as where they might be expected to live, in Thebes itself.¹⁰ It has been claimed that the *Cadaster* reflects a typical Byzantine rural community irrespective of its time, but when the Theban and Athenian documents are compared, and taking into account the difference in their dates, which is about two generations, it looks as though patterns of landownership were changing.¹¹ The *Cadaster* has also been presented as providing evidence for the continuation of the status of the independent peasant, through its lack of any references to estates, *proasteia*, or *pronoia*.¹² While such an argument based on *ex silentio* evidence may or may not be correct, it does show that by the second half of the eleventh century landowners in Greece held land outside the territory of the city where they normally resided, which could account for the lack of references to *proasteia*,

⁶ J. Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, CFHB 5 (Berlin, 1973), 364; L. Dindorf, ed., *Ioannis Zonarae epitome historiarum*, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1868–75), IV, 123. The emperor did not travel further south in Greece.

⁷ A.E. Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols (Washington, D.C., 2002), I, 49.

⁸ E. Granstrem, I. Medvedev, and D. Papachryssanthou, 'Fragment d'un praktikon de la région d'Athènes (avant 1204)', *REB* 34 (1976), 5–44.

⁹ N.G. Svoronos, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes', *BCH* 83 (1959), 1–145.

¹⁰ Avlona, named in both these texts, is a settlement in Attika about half way between Thebes and Athens.

¹¹ For Svoronos it is the typical rural community: Svoronos, 'Le cadastre byzantin', 145.

¹² For Lemerle it represented social change: P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium: From the Origins to the Twelfth Century, the Sources and Problems* (Galway, 1979), 193–200, esp. 198.

from which it might be concluded that there was some competition for land. In the course of the eleventh century the inhabited area of Athens expanded to include a substantial zone outside the post-Herulian wall, which had until then marked the boundary of the city.¹³ It would appear that some at least of these new inhabitants of Athens when seeking country estates were obliged to go beyond the boundaries of Attika to find them.

EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

During an intensive survey in the territory of Lakedaimon, ancient Sparta, the Laconia Survey tested positively a specific methodology based on phosphate analyses of the soils around sites already identified by sherd scatters.¹⁴ This process was able to determine, with some accuracy, the extent of the area of human activity at each site, thus contributing to defining the type of settlement, as well as further differentiating non-nucleated settlements, which is not possible from study of pottery and other site finds alone.¹⁵ In an area of 75 km² of countryside it was possible to distinguish between an estate (*proasteion*) and a village (*chorion*), a hamlet (*agridion*) and an individual farm (*stasis*). For the main part of the eleventh century, that is, up to the 1080s, the survey of Lakonia identified three estates which came into being then, all sited in the halo of the city of Lakedaimon. By the twelfth century the halo of estates in the proximity of Lakedaimon increased, with others being founded further away from the city than previously.¹⁶ In this context the *vita* of Nikon Metanoieites records a nobleman (*archon*), arrested and taken for trial in Constantinople for misappropriation of land in Lakonia, normally understood as ‘klasmatic’ land (land formerly cultivated that had gone out of use) and interpreted as the failure or absence of peasant farmers to cultivate it, but demonstrating that unexploited agricultural resources existed, and the determination of central government to constrain the activities of landowners in taking advantage of them.

¹³ Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα, 10ος–12ος*, Benaki Museum Supplement 6 (Athens, 2010), 59–98.

¹⁴ W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R.W.V. Catling, and G. Shipley, eds, *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey*, I (London, 2002) and II (London, 1996). P.T. Craddock, D. Gurney, F. Pryor, and M.J. Hughes, ‘The Application of Phosphate Analysis to the Location and Interpretation of Archaeological Sites’, *Archaeological Journal* 142 (1985), 361–76.

¹⁵ ‘The Survey Area in the Byzantine and Ottoman Periods’, in *The Laconia Survey*, I, 339–402.

¹⁶ *The Laconia Survey*, I, 365.

The findings of the Laconia Survey propose a definition of the Byzantine village or *chorion* as a cluster of houses surrounded by vegetable gardens and a wider area of cultivable fields and pasturelands, excluding the isolated farmsteads and hamlets that are sometimes viewed as part of the village structure. It is possible these last two types of settlement were classed together with the nearest village for tax purposes and so enter the literature as part of the village, but daily life would have been conducted differently at the more isolated locations.¹⁷ Additionally this survey identified for the first time 'non-inhabited' sites of Komnenian date. The survey of Lakonia catalogued fifteen functioning sites in the eleventh century, twelve of which came into being then: the three estates (one monastic) already referred to, six farms, and three hamlets. Farms and hamlets were new introductions to the Lakonian countryside in the eleventh century. The locations of the newly founded twelve sites appeared to be organized: farmhouses lay along routes; estates near Lakedaimon, and hamlets as outliers of established villages, so that a general pattern is discernible from their situations.¹⁸ The self-conscious regular pattern of location of the new sites in the eleventh century may represent expansion initiated or approved by the state, an orderliness which contrasts with the supposed disintegration of central authority in Constantinople at the time. Questions arise as to why not only new sites, but new types of sites, came into being at this time, and why in the situations chosen. It is possible that the new types of smaller sites, hamlets and farms, may represent the taking up of uncultivated land by independent peasant farmers, and explain why most of the new smaller sites are just beyond a 'comfortable' distance from the nearest larger settlement, but are on established routes. The generally small sizes of the sites indicate their lowly status.

The east side of the river Eurotas was relatively difficult of access from Lakedaimon and the uptake of land there early in the eleventh century is significant, considering how few sites there were in the tenth century. The new settlements identified by the Laconia Survey on the east side of the river required reliable transport infrastructure for moving produce across the river to the city, which was met through monastic resources. This is known from the section of a monastic *typikon*, dated 1027, inscribed on a newly built bridge over the Evrotas, establishing the monastery's right to collect tolls for use of the bridge, having paid for its construction.¹⁹ At the same time, one of the new estates identified by the Laconia Survey was monastic (called

¹⁷ A. Ducellier, *Byzance et le Monde Orthodoxe* (Paris, 1986), 187–8, based on textual evidence.

¹⁸ For a schematic representation see *The Laconia Survey*, I, 361, ill. 7.4.

¹⁹ P. Armstrong, W.G. Cavanagh, and G. Shipley, 'Crossing the River: Observations on Routes and Bridges in Laconia from the Archaic to Byzantine Periods', *ABSA* 87 (1992), 298–300.

‘Metochi’), so the monastery may have had vested interests both in access to the ‘new’ lands and ease of transport of produce to Lakedaimon for dissemination.

The pattern of Komnenian settlements identified by the Laconia Survey provides an important contrast with which to gauge the changes that spanned the main part of the eleventh century. Sixty-seven settlement sites, the largest number for the post-Roman period, can be dated to the Komnenian era. A further forty-nine non-habitation sites were also identified, a type of site not found at any other period. ‘Non-habitation’ sites are loci identified by sherd scatters as areas of human activity but the types of pottery represented do not support the requirements of domestic habitation such as cooking pots or storage wares (*pithoi*). In Lakonia non-habitation sites were marked by scatters of medium-sized storage wares which were interpreted as water carafes for agricultural labourers while they worked in fields. When first brought to light it was thought they were a previously unidentified transport amphora but as none have been found outside Lakonia it is clear that they represent a local production to meet local needs.²⁰ The appearance and proliferation of such sites across the countryside indicates an intensity of agricultural activity not visible in previous centuries in the landscape. A similar phenomenon has been noted through survey work on the island of Kea, although its significance has not been fully appreciated.²¹ There a known type of transport amphora (Günsenin III), dated between the eleventh and thirteen centuries, with its acme in the mid-twelfth century, was the sole pottery type at twenty-eight of forty-two Middle Byzantine sites identified by the survey. The interior of the amphorae was roughened and coated with a resin or pitch-like substance which led to the proposal that the amphorae, undoubtedly in secondary use, were functioning at non-habitation sites in the fields as bee hives. But given the close parallel with the Lakonian sites, and the fact that medieval bee hives were normally made from woven reeds, they are more likely to represent a similar intensity of agricultural activity as noted in Lakonia, the amphorae being used to provide water, or wine, to agricultural labourers as they worked in the fields.²² Their chronology corresponds to the period of non-settlement sites identified in Lakonia.

A further new style of settlement, ‘non-nucleated’, consisting of a cluster of farmhouses appeared in the Komnenian era. From sherd scatters alone this

²⁰ P. Armstrong, ‘Lakonian Amphorae’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. Suppl. XVIII. *Recherches sur la Céramique Byzantine*, 186–9; O. Vassi, ‘An Unglazed Ware Pottery Workshop in Twelfth-Century Lakonia’, *ABSA* 88 (1993), 287–93.

²¹ J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times* (Los Angeles, 1991), 354–5 and 356 (map).

²² Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History*, 357 for the bee-hive theory.

type of site can look like a single site but phosphate analysis of surrounding soils indicated discrete areas of occupation.²³ In addition to the spread of estates outwards, by the twelfth century villages were edging nearer to the city. New villages seem to be part of the strengthening of the rural infrastructure, positioned to feed their produce into larger centres. The neat distribution pattern of rural settlements in the eleventh century was superseded in the twelfth by a busy and bustling landscape with a random and cluttered aspect.

Intensive surface survey in Boiotia has shown a similar increase in the number of settlements in the course of the eleventh century, where it has been interpreted as widespread signs of 'recovery' in the Byzantine countryside between the eleventh and the early thirteenth centuries.²⁴ Middle Byzantine settlements are well-attested in the territory of Thebes with the density of surface pottery reaching its peak between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries. These new settlements of different sizes, established throughout the countryside in both lowland and hilltop locations, sometimes described respectively as non-defensive and defensive, are interpreted as small, nucleated hamlets and villages situated at regular intervals, reminiscent of the modern nucleated village pattern. However, this conclusion about the nature of the sites is based on sherd scatter alone: more sophisticated analysis might refine the data. None of the non-nucleated sites found in Lakonia at this time has been found in Boiotia or Kea, and only Kea provides evidence for non-inhabited 'sites'.²⁵ Other intensive surveys in the Peloponnesian countryside, such as Messenia, Argolid, Methana, and Nemea, identified increased numbers of settlements, in the form of villages and hamlets, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶ The Asea Valley Survey in Arkadia found 'Lakonian amphorae' at some of these sites which perhaps were non-inhabited sites.²⁷

An extensive survey in central Greece, about 35 km northwest of Thebes, revealed a network of rural sites identified by particularly well-preserved assemblages of Komnenian glazed tablewares which fixed their

²³ *The Laconia Survey*, I, 364–5.

²⁴ A.K. Vionis, 'Current Archaeological Research on Settlement and Provincial Life in the Byzantine and Ottoman Aegean: A Case-Study from Boeotia, Greece', *Medieval Settlement Research* 23 (2008), 35; 'recovery' from paucity of sites in the eighth and ninth centuries.

²⁵ Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History*, 354–5.

²⁶ S. Gerstel, 'Medieval Messenia', in J.L. Davis, ed., *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino* (Austin, 1998), 211–28; M.H. Jameson, C.N. Runnels, and T.H. van Andels, *A Greek Countryside: Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford, 1994); T. Koukoulis, 'Medieval Methana', in C. Mee and H. Forbes, eds, *A Rough and Rocky Place: Landscape and Settlement History of Methana Peninsula, Greece* (Liverpool, 1997), 92–100, 211–56; E.F. Athanassopoulos, 'Landscape Archaeology of Medieval and Pre-Modern Greece: Case of Nemea', in P.N. Kardulias and M.T. Shutes, eds, *Aegean Strategies: Studies of Culture and Environment on the European Fringe* (Lanham, MD, 1997), 79–105.

²⁷ Jeannette Forsén and Bjorn Forsén, *Asea Valley Survey: An Arcadian Mountain Valley from the Palaeolithic Period until Modern Times* (Stockholm, 2003), 317–19; distribution map, 319.

chronologies.²⁸ All were new village foundations in a fertile landscape. The villages were also marked by small churches, still in use today but with floor levels up to a metre lower than the surrounding ground, indicating their age. Many of the villages in Lakonia and Boiotia identified by survey work also preserved small churches dating back to the Middle Byzantine period.²⁹ These churches were rustic in character: simply built from field stones with plastered interior walls. Any exterior rendering seems to be of a later date. A distinctive feature of the Greek countryside at the end of the eleventh century was extensive building programmes of small chapels to service new or expanded rural communities.³⁰

HOUSING AND CHURCHES

No houses have been identified in surveys of the Greek countryside. The best evidence for the nature of rural houses at this period is from Djadovo in Macedonia (modern Bulgaria).³¹ Excavation of the village there revealed a cluster of one-room houses with basements accessed by ladders, and walls of mud-brick resting on stone socles.³² Two of the houses were considerably larger than the others, suggesting that social stratification was apparent through the size of the house rather than the design. Similar houses existed in Greek cities in the eleventh century, such as those at Thebes and Athens. Many of the houses in Athens had basement storage rooms, as had eleventh-century houses on the Kadmeia of Thebes, where the majority of the houses were one-room houses with basement stores, built of stone socles supporting mud-brick walls under tiled roofs.³³ In Thebes such unsophisticated houses existed in the same streets with residences of grander design, with rooms opening onto an enclosed courtyard garden, in the Roman fashion.³⁴ Corinth too had houses with courtyards: evidence of a second storey indicates that they could be very large establishments.³⁵ The territory of Thebes has revealed an

²⁸ P. Armstrong, 'Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis', *ABSA* 84 (1989), 1–48.

²⁹ *The Laconia Survey*, I, 362, ill. 7.5(a).

³⁰ *The Laconia Survey*, I, 366–7.

³¹ A. Fol, R. Katinčarov, J. Best, N. De Vries, K. Shoji, and H. Suzuki, eds, *Djadovo: Bulgarian, Dutch, Japanese Expedition*, I, *Mediaeval Settlement and Necropolis (11th–12th Century)* (Tokyo, 1989).

³² *Djadovo*, I, 39–78.

³³ S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1985), 168 for building style, cat. nos 14, 34, 50, 92, 111, 131, 144, 192, and 249 for houses.

³⁴ Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, cat. no. 111, and *AD 23b Chr* (1968), 210–11.

³⁵ First revealed in the 1960s, such a grand residence was completely excavated in 2011: Ch. Bouras, 'Houses in Byzantium', *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1982–83), 1–26, at 10, fig. 4.

eleventh-century country villa, single-storeyed with at least ten rooms clustered around the central courtyard.³⁶ A Middle Byzantine farmhouse at Armatova in Elis in the Peloponnese seems to have been a unique structure: it consisted of a square construction (8 × 8 m) formed from fieldstones and divided into three rooms and a porch.³⁷ The main room had stone couches on two walls, which suggests some aspirations to sophistication while the lack of storage areas or a basement might indicate a summer residence. Apart from the Armatova house, it is clear there was no difference in houses between town and countryside, or between the eleventh and earlier centuries.

Monumental church building in some of the cities of Greece flourished in the eleventh century. There were at least forty churches and monasteries in Middle Byzantine Athens.³⁸ The idiosyncratic features of Athenian church architecture—cloisonné masonry, a unique archway construction, dentil courses, and pseudo-kufic decoration—suggest that Athens was different to other cities in Greece in the eleventh century. So many monumental buildings represent considerable investment, and the preservation of a small number of names of patrons suggests that personal wealth, rather than state monies, underwrote the costs. At Kastoria there is a donor portrait of one Konstantinos dated to the year 1000.³⁹ In contrast to Athens, very few churches can be ascribed to Corinth in the eleventh century, while at the Lechaion a small church built on the site of the great early Christian basilica is of eleventh-century date.⁴⁰ This lack of churches is curious because Corinth is considered to be one of the wealthier cities in Greece at this time. A similar situation has been noted at Argos, where in the eleventh century there were fewer churches than there had been basilicas in the early Byzantine period.⁴¹

The only church known definitely to have been built in Thebes in the eleventh century was founded by ‘refugees’ from Naupactos who brought with them an icon that was carried in public procession once a month. A marble column from a large church with a dedicatory inscription to the Archangel Michael is thought to be the Naupactians’ Theban foundation.⁴²

³⁶ Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, cat. no. 139; *AD 23B Chr* (1968), 214–16 fig. 8, pl. 163.

³⁷ J.E. Coleman, *Excavations at Pylos in Elis* (Princeton, 1986); Bouras, ‘Houses in Byzantium’, 13.

³⁸ Ch. Bouras, ‘Byzantine Athens, 330–1453’, in J. Albani and E. Chalkia, eds, *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece* (Athens, 2013), 175.

³⁹ E. Drakopoulou, ‘Kastoria. Art, Patronage, and Society’, in *Heaven and Earth*, 117.

⁴⁰ D. Athanasoulis, ‘Corinth’, in *Heaven and Earth*, 205–6.

⁴¹ A. Vassiliou, ‘Argos from the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries’, in *Heaven and Earth*, 219.

⁴² C. Koiliakou, ‘Byzantine Thebes’, in *Heaven and Earth*, 184.

The religious duties associated with this icon are recorded in a *typikon*, a quasi-legally binding document, which records 1048 as the date when the fraternity was formed.⁴³ The preserved *typikon* is a renewed charter of the late eleventh or twelfth centuries of the original 1048 confraternity replacing, it records, an earlier document which had disintegrated. Clearly in the mid-eleventh century there was an active civic body at Thebes with a religious consciousness as well as a number of churches to process to and from. It is curious that the Naupaktians continued to reside at Thebes for such a prolonged period: this may be explained by a desire to be in Thebes rather than any difficulty about returning to Naupaktos. Another hint as to the desirability of living in Thebes is provided by an opaque reference in one of the *vitae* of Meletios, an eleventh-century ascetic who settled to the south of Thebes and whose acts were recorded in the middle of the twelfth century, to someone who was 'illegally registered' at Thebes.⁴⁴ Other churches founded in the city at approximately this period are Hagios Nikolaos and Hagia Paraskeve, and four more with unknown dedications.⁴⁵ Some earlier foundations such as Hagios Gregorios or Hagia Photeine continued to be used throughout the eleventh century and for some time afterwards, further evidence that the disaster of the Bulgarian attack described by Skylitzes was not overwhelming.⁴⁶ Establishment or disappearance of bishoprics indicates the rise and fall of settlements and their concomitant economic success or otherwise. The number of sees doubled in Boiotia between the late tenth and the mid-twelfth centuries: such expansion did not occur elsewhere in Greece.⁴⁷

⁴³ J. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, 'A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era', *BZ* 68 (1975), 360–84; P. Horden, 'The Confraternities in Byzantium', in W.J. Sheil and D. Wood, eds, *Voluntary Religion* (Oxford, 1986), 25–45. Though certainly shaped by the prescriptions of canon and civil law, *typika* were not *ipso facto* legally binding because they were not in a narrower sense legal documents: see B. Stolte, 'Law for founders', in M. Mullett, ed., *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.3. (Belfast 2007), 121–39, esp. 130.

⁴⁴ Theodore Prodromos records a certain Bardas, a native of Syria, as *παρέγγραπτος* at Thebes, contrary to Nikolaos of Methone for whom the same Bardas is *Θηβαῖος*: Ch. Papadopoulos, *Ο ὁσῖος Μελέτιος ο νέος* (Athens, 1968), 71.17 (Nikolaos) and 99.28 (Theodore); P. Armstrong, *Sanctity and Monasticism in Middle Byzantine Greece: The Lives of Meletios of Myoupolis* (Brill, forthcoming).

⁴⁵ P. Lazaridis, 'Βοιωτία Βυζαντινά και Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Βοιωτίας', *ADelt* 26 (1971): *Chronika* B1, 247–49; E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Ch. Koilakou, K. Karathanasi, D. Petrou, and G. Kakavas, '1η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων', *ADelt* 56–59 (2001–4): *Chronika* B2, Στερέα Ελλάδα-Θεσσαλία, 42–3, figs 25–8; Ch. Koilakou, 'Byzantine Thebes', in *Heaven and Earth*, 184–5.

⁴⁶ Hagios Gregorios was built in 872 by a local administrator and continued in use until Ottoman times. Hagia Photeine was built in the late tenth century.

⁴⁷ A.W. Dunn, 'Historical and Archaeological Indicators of Economic Change in Middle Byzantine Boeotia and Their Problems', *Πρακτικά του Β' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Βοιωτικών Μελετών* (1992) (Athens, 1996), 755–74 (758–61).

URBAN GROWTH

The eleventh century was the time when the cities of Greece sustained growth in their urban fabric through an upsurge in trade of agricultural commodities such as wine, oil, and silk, which in turn fed light industry. It was the era when the marketplaces of the ancient cities were built over, having been abandoned or randomly occupied in the preceding centuries. No city in Greece illustrates this better than Lakedaimon. The evidence is a combination of archaeological and textual.⁴⁸ It is clear that rebuilding and reconstruction were involved when Nikon located the site for his new monastery in the marketplace, suggesting the throbbing heart of the late-antique city was in a sorry state at the close of the tenth century.⁴⁹ Yet sections of eleventh- and twelfth-century Lakedaimon have been excavated revealing streets with houses, the lower courses of a possible tower house, and numerous churches, so that the city clearly progressed as a functioning urban centre in the course of the eleventh century.⁵⁰ Building programmes were sustained by a large kiln area on the banks of the Eurotas that produced bricks and roof tiles from the tenth to twelfth centuries.⁵¹ Just over 100 years after Nikon's monastery was built, al-Idrisi

⁴⁸ The written evidence consists of the *vita* of the city's patron saint, Nikon Metanoietes (d. c.1000), and his *testament*. For the interpretation and reliability of the textual evidence see: P. Armstrong, 'Monasteries Old and New: The Nature of the Evidence', in M. Mullett, ed., *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.3 (Belfast 2007), 315–43; P. Armstrong, 'The Monasteries of Saint Nikon: The Amyklaion, Sparta and Lakonia', in C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis, and G.M. Muskett, eds, *Dioskouroi. Studies Presented to W.G. Cavanagh and C.B. Mee* (Oxford, 2008), 352–69; M. Kaplan, 'La fondation de Nikón le Métanoëite à Sparte: un monastère urbain, sa ville et sa campagne', in E. Cuozzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot, and V. Prigent, eds, *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 30 (Paris, 2008), 383–94.

⁴⁹ μέση τοῦ φόρου: O. Lampsides, *Ο εκ Πόντου Όσιος Νίκων ο Μετανοείτε. Κείμενα scholia. Πηγαί της Ιστορίας των Ελλήνων του Πόντου 4. Αρχεῖον Πόντου Παράρτημα 13*. (Athens, 1982), 256; A. Bandy, 'Nikon Metanoëite: Testament of Nikon the Metanoëite for the Church and Monastery of the Savior, the Mother of God, and St. Kyriake in Lakedaimon', in J. Thomas and A.C. Hero, eds (with contribution by G. Constable), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A complete translation of the surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 5 vols (Washington, D. C., 2000), I, 320.6–7; ... τόν τε πολὺν φορυτὸν ἐξεκάθαιρον τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν ὑλῶν ἐπιούνο: Lampsides *Ο εκ Πόντου Όσιος Νίκων*, 68.15–16 (B.), 190.32–3 (K.); D.F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon. Text, Translation and Commentary*, The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 14 (Brookline, MA, 1987), c. 35.38–9.

⁵⁰ Ai. Bakourou, G. Marinou, E. Pantou, D. Charalambous, K. Diamanti, V. Albani, D. Kai, N. Bouza, G. Tsekas, E. Katsara, and G. Hadji-Minaglou, '5η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων', *ADelt* 53 (1998): *Chronika* B1, 187–224; Ai. Bakourou, 'Τοπογραφικές παρατηρήσεις για τη μεσοβυζαντινή Λακεδαίμονία', in *Sparta and Lakonia*, 301–12.

⁵¹ P. Armeni, A. Kotsi, Z. Bakopanou, and M. Florou, 'Σωστική ανασκαφή σε εργαστηριακό χώρο Βυζαντινών χρόνων στην περιφέρεια Κοκκινόραχης Λακωνίας', in *10 Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Πελοπόννησο, Τρίπολη, 7–11 Νοεμβρίου 2012*. Kilns of this kind are rarely found but they must have been common in every city.

wrote, 'el-Kedemona is an extensive and prosperous city'.⁵² Similar sentiments are expressed in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, although of a slightly later date but still pertinent.⁵³

The picture is similar for the less well-documented Thebes.⁵⁴ Extensive excavations on the Kadmeia primarily aimed at the Mycenaean-era remains have revealed many buildings of the Middle Byzantine period, the origins of several of which are assigned to the eleventh century, possibly constructed in response to the Bulgarian attack of 1040.⁵⁵ In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela recorded the large numbers of Jewish intellectuals residing at 'the great city of Thebes', second only to those in Constantinople itself. So the city continued to flourish after recovering from the problems of 1040.⁵⁶ Excavations on the Kadmeia and just outside it attest houses with extensive storage areas for agricultural products, graveyards, churches, and small industrial units crowding together, pointing to an increase in the city's population.⁵⁷

The peak of medieval Corinth's prosperity came in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Excavations in the central part of the city have revealed a commercial and industrial quarter in what had been the marketplace of the late antique city. Four pottery workshops were operating there, one of which went out of use in the late eleventh century while another continued throughout the twelfth. Pottery quantification suggests a considerable increase in production across these two centuries. Two glass factories established in the late eleventh century were also located in the marketplace.⁵⁸ There is evidence of metalworking in the form of small crucibles and moulds for casting metal objects, some of which indicate that there were copper and goldsmiths' workshops.⁵⁹ Niketas Choniates in the later twelfth century assigns Corinth's wealth to its two ports linking markets in Asia with those in Italy.⁶⁰ The eleventh and twelfth centuries were similarly prosperous times for the lesser-known city of Kitros, in the district of Pieria. Strategically located on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf, as well as feeding a tributary route of the Via Egnatia, Kitros did not develop commercially until the eleventh century, when it became a

⁵² Sometime between 1139 and 1154: P. Jaubert, ed. and trans., *Géographie d'Edrisi*, II (Paris, 1840), 125.

⁵³ J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of the Morea: A History in Political Verse*, I (London, 1904), 2055–6.

⁵⁴ For general information about Thebes see J. Koder and F. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, I, *Hellas und Thessalia* (Vienna, 1976), 269–71.

⁵⁵ Many of them are documented in Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*.

⁵⁶ M.N. Adler, ed. and trans., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907), 10.

⁵⁷ Symeonoglou, *Topography of Thebes*, site 139; Ch. Koilakou and M. Galini-Krikou, '17 Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων (Ν. Βοιωτίας: Θήβα)', *ADelt* 48 (1993): *Chronika* B1, 77–93.

⁵⁸ G.R. Davidson, 'A Medieval Glass Factory at Corinth', *AJA* 40 (1944), 297–324.

⁵⁹ H.S. Robinson and S.S. Weinberg, 'Excavations at Corinth, 1959', *Hesperia* 29 (1960), 227–31.

⁶⁰ *Niketae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.A. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), 74–5.

major port servicing the Balkans. Visited by Alexios Komnenos in 1083, the city had become a prosperous provincial city with an active commercial port and an industrial zone around the harbour, containing a jewellery workshop and a potters' quarter.⁶¹ Excavations at Kitros have revealed an inn of this period, part of the infrastructure supporting the city's commercial life.⁶²

The rehabilitation of the cities of Greece in the eleventh century did not follow the ordered arrangements of the antique city. Rather they expanded organically: marketplaces ceased to be 'public' but were taken over by private individuals, not just for trading but as industrial units producing goods for sale and trade. 'Public' space was found around churches, even when the churches were donations of private individuals, as seems so often to have been the case. At the same time rural surveys indicate a major output of agricultural production in the eleventh century which continued and increased even more in the twelfth. The surplus productions which we know about are wine, olive oil, and silk, for they were widely exported. But there will have been many foods consumed regionally: fruit, nuts, corn, honey, or cheeses which will always have been produced and exchanged at a local level. The eleventh century in Greece heralded the beginning of surplus production for cash returns. Lakonia had a reputation for the numbers of olives that grew there, and in Lakedaimon many fragments of Middle Byzantine olive presses have been found in secondary use as building materials in the city. Two further olive presses that could be dated more closely to the eleventh to twelfth centuries have been found in the vicinity of the city.⁶³ At Corinth wine and olive presses have been found where they were used, as have wine presses in Athens.⁶⁴ Thebes too was a productive city: its goods were exported from Euripos.⁶⁵ The ready occurrence of coins of this era in archaeological deposits points to increased commercial transactions and consequent prosperity, as do the surviving *commenda*, trading contracts, of Italian merchants.⁶⁶

⁶¹ E. Marki, 'Ανασκαφή Βυζαντινού πανδοχείου στην Πύδνα', *ΑΕΜΘ* 5 (1991), 179–90; E. Marki, 'Ανασκαφή εργαστηρίου κεραμικής και χυτευτής σιδήρου στην αρχαία Πύδνα', in B. Katsaros, ed., *Αντίφωνο; Αφιέρωμα στον Καθηγητή Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη* (Thessaloniki, 1994), 121–31, 692–9. E. Angelkou and M. Cheimonopoulou, 'Κοσμήματα και εξαρτήματα ένδυσης από το μεσοβυζαντινό Κίτρος', *ΔΧΑΕ* 27 (2006), 381–90.

⁶² The inn consisted of a rectangular hall with covered porch and stables: E. Gerousi, 'Rural Greece in the Byzantine Period in Light of New Archaeological Evidence', in *Heaven and Earth*, 33.

⁶³ A. Mexia, 'Ελαιοκομία στη Βυζαντινή Λακεδαίμονα. Πηγές και αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια', *Λακωνικάί Σπουδαί* 18 (2006), 205–23.

⁶⁴ G.D.R. Sanders, 'Corinth', in Laiou, *Economic History of Byzantium*, II, 647–54; Gerousi, *Heaven and Earth*, 36.

⁶⁵ A. Sabbidis, 'Η Βυζαντινή Θήβα 996/7–1204 μ.Χ.', *Ιστοριογεωγραφικά*, 2 (1988), 33–52; A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 218–20.

⁶⁶ Coins: C. Morrison, 'Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation', in Laiou, *Economic History of Byzantium*, III, 959, plan 6.5. *Commenda*: R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, eds, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli xi–xiii*, 2 vols (Turin, 1940).

INTERACTION BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

It is possible to look at the interaction between town and country through the medium of agricultural produce and the organization of distribution of surplus. Production depended on the configuration of the countryside while distribution required a market basis, usually located in towns or cities, to focus the economic activities that underlay the practicalities of collection, evaluation, processing, and eventually dispersal. The three principal surplus commodities of eleventh-century Greece, wine, olive oil, and silk, can be studied with just such an interaction in mind, using both written and archaeological sources. Silk and oil have been considered elsewhere, while a proper evaluation of the evidence for wine production has not been considered in any detail.

Reference has already been made to the presence of the Günsenin III amphora at non-habitation sites on the island of Kea.⁶⁷ We know this was a wine-carrying amphora both because the interior was coated with resin and grape pips were found in some of them.⁶⁸ Recent scientific investigations of the large numbers of Günsenin III amphorae found in Boiotia, specifically at Thespiiai, show, because of their association with other local wares, that they were made in this region.⁶⁹ Even more recent archaeometric work has identified Euripos as their place of manufacture.⁷⁰ Local origins are further supported by the significant numbers of them found on the island of Kea; others have been found on the east coast of Boiotia, in the Bay of Marathon, and at Athens.⁷¹ In southern Greece they have been found in small numbers in Lakonia, the island of Antikythera, and the region of Corinth.⁷² When these amphorae have been identified outside Greece, their physical parity with those in Greece indicates a common origin. At Saraçhane this was the most common

⁶⁷ P. 138 above.

⁶⁸ S. Tanabe et al., *Excavation of a Sunken Ship Found Off the Syrian Coast: An Interim Report* (Kyoto, 1989), 94, 102.

⁶⁹ A.K. Vionis, 'The Byzantine to Early Modern Pottery from Thespiiai', in J.L. Bintliff, E. Farinetti, B. Slapšak, and A.M. Snodgrass, eds, *Boeotia Project, Volume II: The City of Thespiiai. Survey at a Complex Urban Site* (Cambridge, 2017), 358–60.

⁷⁰ S.Y. Waksman, S.S. Skartsis, N.D. Kontogiannis, E.P. Todorova, and G. Vaxevannis, 'Investigating the Origins of Two Main Types of Middle and Late Byzantine Amphorae', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2016.12.008>.

⁷¹ At Anthedon: H. Schlager, D.J. Blackman, and J. Schafer, 'Der Hafen von Anthedon mit Beiträgen zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt', *ArchAnz* (1968), 86–9, figs 89–90. Marathon: *BCH* 77 (1953), 142, fig. 6b. Athens: Tanabe et al., *Excavation of a Sunken Ship*, 67.

⁷² Port of Gytheion in Lakonia: P. Giannakopoulou, *Τὸ Γύθειον* (Athens, 1966), 169, fig. 43; Lakonia: N. Scoufopoulos-Stavrolakes, 'Ancient Gythion, the Port of Sparta: History and Survey of the Submerged Remains', in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology* (Oxford, 1985), 56, fig. 5. Antikythera: J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, eds, *Kythera: Excavations and Studies* (London, 1972), 269–70, pl. 87, Q18–19. Corinth region: Schlager, Blackman, and Schafer, 'Anthedon', 86–8, fig. 88.

type of amphora in mid-twelfth to early thirteenth-century deposits.⁷³ The largest assemblage of these amphorae, some 5,000 forming the principal cargo, was found in the Maraclea wreck, off the coast of Syria near Tartous.⁷⁴ They were also present in another shipwreck dated to the thirteenth century located off the south-western Crimea, at Novy Svet.⁷⁵ They made up a small proportion of the cargo of yet another thirteenth-century shipwreck in the Sea of Marmara.⁷⁶ These shipwrecks indicate the extent of trade in Greek wine in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Other findspots indicate how widespread was the trade: Odessa, Cherson, Kerch, and Anapa⁷⁷ in and around the Black Sea;⁷⁸ Mstsislaw,⁷⁹ Podneprovnia, and Sarkel in Russia.⁸⁰ They have also been found in Romania, near the mouth of the Danube.⁸¹ In Bulgaria they have been found at Dinogetia and Pliska.⁸² Elsewhere in Bulgaria they have been found at Djadova, in domestic contexts, where they were the only type of transport amphora present.⁸³ In Israel they have been found at Atlit, and in Cyprus at Paphos.⁸⁴ A single example is known from south Italy, from Otranto.⁸⁵ There are also two examples from Bouthrotos (modern Butrint).⁸⁶ It has not been previously noted either that trade in wine from central Greece was so prolific and so developed or that a specific type of amphora was created just for its

⁷³ Hayes, *Saraçhane*, 76. Hayes has documented the numerous finds from Constantinople.

⁷⁴ Tanabe et al., *Excavation of a Sunken Ship*.

⁷⁵ S. Zelenko and Y. Morozova, 'Amphorae Assemblage from the 13th Century Shipwreck in the Black Sea, near Sudak', in D. Kassab Tezgör and N. Inaishvili, eds, *Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea: Actes de la table ronde internationale de Batoumi et Trabzon, 27–29 avril 2006*, *Varia Anatolica* 21 (2006), 82, pl. 44.3.

⁷⁶ N. Günşenin, 'L'épave de Çamaltı Burnu I (Île de Marmara, Proconnèse): résultats des campagnes 1998–2000', *Anatolia Antiqua/Eski Anadolu*, 9 (2001), 117–33.

⁷⁷ A.L. Iakobson, *Keramika i keramicheskoe proizvodstvo srednevekovoi Tavriki* (Leningrad, 1979), fig. 68, nos 1–4.

⁷⁸ Iakobson, *Keramika*, 110–11, fig. 68, nos 5–8; Romanchuk 2000, fig. 86.

⁷⁹ A.L. Iakobson, 'Srednevekove amfory severnogo prichernomor'ya', *Sovetskaja Arheologija* 15 (1951), fig. 35.

⁸⁰ Iakobson 1951, nos 33–4.

⁸¹ I. Barnea and S. Stefanescu, *Din istoria Dobroge, III Byzantini, romani și bulgari la Dunărea de Jos* (Bucharest, 1971), 267, fig. 88.2.

⁸² Dinogetia: I. Barnea, 'Ceramica de import', in G. Stefan, I. Barnea, M. Comşa, and E. Comşa, eds, *Dinogetia, I Așezarea feudală timpurie de la Bisericiuța-Garvan* (Bucharest, 1967), 259–60, fig. 159. Pliska: J. Čangova, 'Srednevekovni amfori v Bălgarija', *Izvestiya na Arheologicheski Institut* 22 (1959), 255–7, figs 10–11.

⁸³ *Djadova*, 193–4.

⁸⁴ F. Zemer, *Storage Jars in Ancient Sea Trade* (Haifa, 1977), pl. 25, no. 74; A.H.S. Megaw, 'Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970–71', *DOP* 26 (1972), 334, fig. 27.

⁸⁵ P. Arthur, 'Amphoras for Bulk Transport', in F. D'Andria and D.B. Whitehouse, eds, *Excavations at Otranto, II, The Finds* (Galatina, 1992), 207, type 3.

⁸⁶ P. Reynolds, 'The Medieval Amphorae', in R. Hodges, W. Bowden, and K. Lako, eds, *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and Surveys 1994–99* (Oxford, 2004), figs 14, 20, 30, text 389–90, where it is noted that two amphorae have the same fabric although described individually in different terms.

transport. The Günsenin III amphora is unique among medieval amphorae in that its form is closer to ancient (classical) than medieval amphorae, which indicates both a certain degree of independence in design and perhaps a particular form of ship in which it was principally carried.⁸⁷ Apart from this amphora and its distribution, we know little else about the Boiotian wine trade. Perhaps this is because the wine may have been a secondary cargo (discussed further below).⁸⁸

Olive oil was produced throughout Greece but it was the principal agricultural export from Lakonia. Such was its reputation that it was even referred to in twelfth-century England.⁸⁹ Written evidence from the mid-twelfth century shows that Venetians lived in the city of Lakedaimon and acted as middlemen who contracted both the producers, Greeks, and the underwriters, Italians in Venice who put up the money for each trading enterprise.⁹⁰ Archaeological evidence from the Lakonian countryside suggests that the general process of producing for an export market began in the second half of the eleventh century and accelerated throughout the twelfth. It has been noted that transporting oil in quantity from the valley of Lakedaimon to its port at Skala was logistically difficult on account of the rough and hilly landscape, yet it was accomplished and Lakonian oil went in quantity to Constantinople and Alexandria.⁹¹ Given the absence in the archaeological record of any ceramic containers for transporting Lakonian oil it is thought to have travelled in wooden barrels. Although archaeological evidence picked up changes in the landscape such as an increase in the number of settlements and intensified agricultural activities, it is written evidence which has filled out our understanding of what was happening.⁹²

Silk was produced at a number of cities in Greece: Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, as well as on the nearby islands of Andros and Euboa.⁹³ The most well-known silk centre was Thebes because it was subjected to a documented raid by Roger of Sicily who famously carried off the silk workers to Sicily to work there for him.⁹⁴ We know about silk from Hellas and the Peloponnese being promoted at the great fair of St Demetrius in Thessalonike in the twelfth

⁸⁷ Independent since other Byzantine amphorae were essentially limited in form to developments of Late Roman I and Late Roman II.

⁸⁸ Dunn, 'Historical and Archaeological Indicators'.

⁸⁹ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), II, 199.

⁹⁰ P. Armstrong, 'Merchants of Venice at Sparta in the 12th Century', in W.G. Cavanagh, C. Gallou, and M. Georgiadis, eds, *Sparta and Laconia from Prehistory to Pre-Modern* (London, 2009), 313–22.

⁹¹ Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, 11, no. 9, 14, no. 11.

⁹² Such as the trade contracts referred to in the previous note (91).

⁹³ Silk production at Corinth is underscored by the funerary dedication of one of the city's Jewish dyers: J. Starr, 'The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth', *BNJ* 12 (1935–36), 42–9.

⁹⁴ *Niketæ Choniatae Historia*, 99, 608; W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 33; R.S. Lopez, 'The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum* 20 (1945), 1–42.

century.⁹⁵ Jacoby's extensive study of Middle Byzantine silk production at Thebes and on the island of Andros shows the range of types of silk produced, from royal silk dyed with murex purple to cloths that mixed silk with other less expensive fibres.⁹⁶ Jacoby noted the murex production at Athens and linked it to the silk manufactories of Thebes. More recently Dunn has shown that the production of murex dye was also extensive in the Corinthian Gulf.⁹⁷ Before the eleventh century, when its production was strictly controlled by the state, there seemed to have been a shortage of raw silk.⁹⁸ The development of sericulture in Greece at this time may have been a response to such a shortage. Some modern studies of the silk industry in central Greece at the end of the eleventh century concluded that its expansion, when it developed from simply producing raw silk for processing elsewhere into a fully fledged cloth manufacturing industry, was primarily stimulated by the growing prosperity of local landowners. They both made a profit from producing silk and provided a market for the finished product, so that their needs and requirements rendered the export of silk cloth a secondary consideration.⁹⁹ However, when Alexios I Komnenos gave permission for Venetian merchants to trade freely at Thebes, its production was stimulated throughout the region, so that from the end of the eleventh century Corinth and the island of Andros, as well as Thebes, began to produce silk for export.¹⁰⁰ If the export of that silk was associated with the export of wine from central Greece (wine acting as ballast for the silk in ships), then the findspots of Günsenin III amphorae might indicate locations where Greek silk was exported.

Oil, wine, and silk have quite different stages in their manufacture after production of the core ingredient. Oil is perhaps the most simple as it requires only for the fruit to be pressed before being 'bottled' for transport. Grapes need to be pressed and then the juice stored in correct conditions before bottling. Both commodities required some degree of post-production organization to support their bulk manufacture and distribution. Silk was more complicated: the initial stages of producing raw silk, the rearing of the worms and removal of their thread, is the corresponding 'agricultural' element to oil

⁹⁵ B. Baldwin, *Timarion*, ed. and trans. (Detroit, 1984).

⁹⁶ D. Jacoby, 'Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade', *BZ* 85/6 (1991–2), 452–500.

⁹⁷ A. Dunn, 'The Rise and Fall of Towns, Loci of Maritime Traffic, and Silk Production: The Problem of Thisvi-Kastorion', in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Byzantine Style, Religion, and Civilization in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge, 2006), 53–5.

⁹⁸ J. Shepard, 'Silks, Skills and Opportunities in Byzantium: Some Reflections', *BMGS* 21 (1997), 249.

⁹⁹ Jacoby, 'Silk', 473.

¹⁰⁰ R.J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081–1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984), 210–13; A. Harvey, 'Economic Expansion in Central Greece in the Eleventh Century', *BMGS* 8 (1982–3), 21–8; Shepard, 'Silks, Skills and Opportunities', 246–57.

and wine—that is, it takes place in the countryside—but manufacture of the cloth requires infrastructure of a type that will necessarily be found in towns and cities. There the production of the cloth requires a quite different input, from the production of dyes, production of looms, and weaving and finishing. Silk therefore has an impact on both town and country and employs considerably more personnel than either oil or wine. The cities of Hellas and the Peloponnese benefitted from the production and sale of silk, while the rural population benefitted from sales of all three commodities. To what extent one section of the population, the landed class or *archontes*, profited compared with the cultivators who laboured in the fields is difficult to assess: it is clear that benefits were gained throughout society. It has been suggested that the *archontes* were the initiators of large-scale manufacturing of silk.¹⁰¹ *Archontes* are recorded as the owners/providers of saleable olive oil in Lakedaimon.¹⁰² At village level wealth generated from surplus produce can be seen in the use for the first time of glazed pottery in rural domestic contexts and the construction of small churches. Recent work on the pricing of ceramics suggests that they were a comparatively expensive commodity, so that the rural population had some disposable income which did not exist at the onset of the eleventh century.¹⁰³ At the upper end of the social order, wealth manifested itself in privately funded building schemes for large houses and churches. At the same time every aspect of the production of oil, wine, and silk and their distribution implies that there was a workforce to enable these activities, that is, that there was a significant increase in population sometime in the eleventh century whose labour changed the character of both the towns and countryside of Greece, which was consolidated in the twelfth century from which time most evidence can be recognized.

To return to the question of the export of Greece's agricultural products, it has already been suggested that oil from Lakonia must have been exported in barrels, mainly because no associated amphorae have been identified. It is also known that wine was exported from central Greece in a particular amphora to many places from the Black Sea to the Levant, and that it was exported in quantity. Jacoby commented on the lightness of silk as a transportable commodity but did not discuss the practicalities of how it got from A to B. The vagaries of available cargo space can be seen in the *commenda* for the shipment of oil, when one consignment was forced to be split in two loads because of lack of space on board ships.¹⁰⁴ In the context of the export of silk from central Greece consideration should be given to the recently identified ceramic production centre at Euripos, the port of Thebes. It does not fit the

¹⁰¹ Shepard, 'Silks, Skills and Opportunities', 254.

¹⁰² Armstrong, 'Merchants of Venice', 315.

¹⁰³ G. Sanders, *Recent Finds from Ancient Corinth: How Little Things Make Big Differences, Babesch Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, 10th Byvanck Lecture* (Leiden, 2016).

¹⁰⁴ Armstrong, 'Merchants of Venice', 316.

standard model of Middle Byzantine glazed ceramic production, described at the beginning of this chapter, that of manufacture of a new style of glazed and decorated tableware from the eleventh century on, primarily for consumption by the citizens of the locality. Although Euripos was manufacturing the same type of ceramics it does not fit the model because its products are found in quantity not just in Chalkis and nearby Thebes, but around the Black Sea, in Constantinople, the Levant, as well as in other areas of Greece.¹⁰⁵ The second unusual feature of the Euripos ceramic production was that its clay was brought from a location about 5 km along the coast of Euboia. By comparison, 'regular' city production occurred at or close to the source of clay, and, while some pieces travelled from city to city, their production did not travel in quantity. Transportation of the raw materials to Euripos has some intrinsic implications. If the ceramics were produced for export, then they would have been made close to the clay beds, which were by the sea. That they were made close to the harbour at the port of Euripos suggests another purpose, which may have been to add weight to cargoes of silk. Archaeometrical identification of ceramics manufactured at the Euripos centre has revealed an extensive trade network. Waksman et al. think the ceramics were exported as a tradable commodity in their own right which might be thought to be supported by Sanders whose investigations into the economics of pottery show that their worth was considerably more than has hitherto been assumed. Perhaps the reality was an amalgam of these suppositions: the required ballast was converted into a profitable commodity that accompanied another profitable commodity. The whys and wherefores of the implied highly developed infrastructure that emerged out of the eleventh century at Euripos are beyond the subject of this chapter, though it should be noted that the Venetians must have been involved. A similar involvement of Venetian enterprise has been proposed for achieving the export of substantial quantities of olive oil from Lakonia.¹⁰⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Documentary evidence for rural expansion in central Greece from the eleventh century on has been collected together by Harvey.¹⁰⁷ Corroborating

¹⁰⁵ S.Y. Waksman, N.D. Kontogiannis, S.S. Skartsis, and G. Vaxevanis, 'The Main "Middle Byzantine Production" and Pottery Manufacture in Thebes and Chalcis', *ABSA* 109 (2014), 379–422. Note that Megaw did not publish a group of pottery called 'Aegean Ware': he catalogued the general characteristics of 'wares' that were circulating in the Aegean in the early thirteenth century, isolating one particular group (Low Ring Base Ware) through its distinctive characteristics: A.H.S. Megaw, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Aegean Ware', in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), 34–45.

¹⁰⁶ Armstrong, 'Merchants of Venice'.

¹⁰⁷ Harvey, 'Economic Expansion in Central Greece', 21–8.

evidence from survey archaeology at a number of locations—Methana, Nemea, Lakonia, Boiotia, Keos (Kea), and Phokis—shows a marked expansion in the amount of land under cultivation in the course of the eleventh century and a growth in agricultural activities.¹⁰⁸ Archaeology also shows how the nature of that expansion changed from an ordered development for most of the eleventh century to an almost random growth at the end and throughout the twelfth. It is possible to distinguish between the earlier and later parts of the century, between the paucity of domestic ceramics on rural sites of the former and the abundance of glittering glazed tablewares of the latter. At the same time some cities have major building programmes for churches and their decoration instigated by private individuals, but others seem to have built only one or two churches in the eleventh century. There were so many churches being built in Athens that it developed its own regional style of architecture. Corinth is unusual because although its two harbours trading between east and west ensured a prime place in Mediterranean commercial activities, it is not noted for its eleventh-century buildings for public use. Thebes flourished and became a desirable place to be. Industrialization returned to cities on a commercial scale for the first time since the late antique period, based in the marketplaces and central areas of cities. There were plenty of them, which indicates that there was a ready market for silk, glass, and jewellery, and as we have seen, crockery. Of a less tangible nature were the services of architects, stone masons, mosaicists, and artists who contributed to the creation of the new churches and the building of the many new houses that went on in every provincial city in Greece in the eleventh century. This picture of life in Greece is at odds with the descriptions of the Archbishop of Ohrid, Theophylact, for the region around Ohrid at the end of the eleventh century. Far from a prosperous happy peasantry eating from new plates and worshipping in their own local churches, he wrote of villagers running away into forests to escape tax collectors or being rounded up to serve in the army. He complained of the countryside being denuded of its population.¹⁰⁹ Yet Ohrid is not so far from Kitros (c.200 km) which was flourishing in the same manner as the other cities of provincial Greece in the eleventh century. Perhaps the letters of Theophylact were written with other objectives in mind than the absolute truth; archaeology is revealing a more accurate picture. That there were rapacious tax collectors in, for instance, Lakonia, we know from the *vita* of Nikon, through a tale whereby the dead saint protected the monastery's

¹⁰⁸ Methana: *Rough and Rocky Place*, 98. Nemea: J.C. Wright, 'The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project. A Preliminary Report', *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 617. Lakonia: Armstrong, 'The Survey Area', 394. Boiotia: J. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass, 'The Cambridge Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985), 149. Phokis: Armstrong, 'Settlements in Phokis', 40–2.

¹⁰⁹ A. Harvey, 'The Land and Taxation in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos: The Evidence of Theophylakt of Ochrid', *REB* 51 (1993), 139–54.

valuables from confiscation on false grounds. Nevertheless Lakonia and Lakedaimon flourished despite tax demands. To some extent the machinery of government must have enabled the stepping up of agricultural activities and the development of manufacturing but when the evidence is examined closely the role of the Venetians not just as middle men who traded in Greek-produced commodities but who took an active part in the practicalities of transporting goods is crucial.

Shoring up all the new or revived activities in Greece in the eleventh century is an expanded workforce, whether in field or factory. This is frequently commented on but with only occasional suggestions to possible origins of the new population. Jacoby points out that the army officers who supported George Maniakes in his revolt of 1043 had come from southern Italy.¹¹⁰ But this is the only evidence of population movements from the territories in Italy which the Byzantines lost in the eleventh century and it concerns a particular group whose military status meant that they could not have remained. There is no other evidence of a flow of people out of southern Italy on a scale that would have been needed to feed the extent of the population increase detectable in Greece. It is the craftsmen who set up in the marketplaces of Greece that provide clues to the directions of movements of people at this time. A brief consideration of ceramics in the eleventh century as indicators of contact or even migration elucidates possible conclusions. As discussed above the 'new' ceramics of eleventh-century Greece were characterized by decorative techniques, slipped and painted or slipped and incised (or a combination of both) and decorative motifs which had their origins outside the Balkans and Europe. The earliest dated comparanda for the 'new' pottery can be found in Nishapur, in the Khorasan region of eastern Iran.¹¹¹ Sgraffito, painted, and glazed wares at Nishapur which show a marked affinity with the regional productions of Greece are about 100 years earlier than their Greek counterparts, which indicates the direction of travel. But Greece was not the only region where 'new' stylistically similar pottery productions appeared in the eleventh century. At Sirjān, the largest city of southern Iran at the end of the tenth century, two deposits dated 1025–1050 and 1125–1150 contained significant quantities of a new style of glazed painted and incised wares manufactured there.¹¹² At Oren-Kala/Bailaqān in Azerbaijan similar painted and incised wares have been excavated in quantity, dated to the eleventh

¹¹⁰ Jacoby 'Silk', 480.

¹¹¹ C.K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic Period* (New York, 1973), monochrome and colour-splashed wares; R. Rante and A. Collinet, *Nishapur Revisited: Stratigraphy and Ceramics of the Qohandez* (Oxford, 2013), Period IIIB, fig. 91.

¹¹² Their production at Sirjān was indicated by the wasters and kiln debris: P. Morgan and J. Leatherby, 'Excavated Ceramics from Sirjān', in J. Allan and C. Roberts, eds, *Syria and Iran. Three Studies in Medieval Ceramics*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art IV (Oxford, 1987), 73–82, figs 22–6.

and twelfth centuries.¹¹³ Nearby, Armenian Dvin produced more of these wares, which the excavator identified as a new introduction of the eleventh century.¹¹⁴ The same picture of new eleventh-century glazed ceramics can be found at Lashkarī Bāzār in Afghanistan.¹¹⁵ At Aşvan Kale (Muratçık) in eastern Anatolia, on the south bank of a major tributary of the Euphrates, kilns have been excavated revealing all the paraphernalia associated with pottery production as well as heaps of discarded melted glaze and misformed vessels, though the style of the vessels is not known.¹¹⁶ The kilns are dated by their archaeological contexts to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Kiln furniture and misfired vessels comparable stylistically to the Greek products are evidence of pottery manufacture at Anemourion in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.¹¹⁷ Close to the Aegean coast in north western Asia Minor at Pergamon similar pottery of the same date has been detected through wasters and kiln furniture.¹¹⁸ Comparable evidence indicates production of analogous tablewares in the town of Gülpınar on the coast of the Troad.¹¹⁹ More than forty years ago it was observed, 'it would thus appear that in the 11th and 12th centuries the incised technique dominated glazed pottery style not only in Anatolia, northern Syria and north-west Iran, but also in southern Iran and Afghanistan'.¹²⁰ Today the evidence is even more widespread. Productions of the 'new' style of glazed ceramics are found as far north in the Balkan peninsula as Skopje, where wasters have been dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and a mid-eleventh-century kiln at Pacuiul-lui-Soare, in the Dobruja.¹²¹ In Egypt the sites of kom el-Dikka and kom el-Nadoura in

¹¹³ A.L. Jakobson, *Khudojstviennaya Keramika Bailakana, Trudi azerbajjanskoi Expedicii (Materiali i Issliedovaniya po Arxeologii SSSR 67)* (Moscow, 1959), 228–302, pls 17–21, groups 3–5.

¹¹⁴ A.A. Kalantarian, *Dvin. Histoire et archeologie de la ville medieval* (Neuchâtel–Paris, 1996), 134–6, pls 89–94.

¹¹⁵ J.C. Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar II. Céramiques et monnaies de Lashkari et de Bust* (Paris, 1963).

¹¹⁶ S. Mitchell, 'Aşvan Kale, 1968–72', *Anatolian Studies* 23 (1973), 131–51, figs 19–20.

¹¹⁷ T. Tömöry, 'Medieval Sgraffitto Ware from Anemorium in Cilicia', *Bulleten* 41 (1977), 30–40.

¹¹⁸ J.-M. Spieser, *Die byzantinische Keramik aus der Wohnstadtgrabung* (Berlin, 1996), ch. 2; S.Y. Waksman and J.-M. Spieser, 'Byzantine Ceramics Excavated in Pergamon: Archaeological Classification and Characterization of the Local and Imported Productions by PIXE and INAA Elemental Analysis, Mineralogy and Petrography', in H. Maguire, ed., *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 105–34.

¹¹⁹ F. Yenişehirlioğlu, 'La céramique glaçurée de Gülpınar', in V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser, eds, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine* (Athens, 1989), 303–15.

¹²⁰ J.W. Allan, 'Incised Wares of Iran and Anatolia in the 11th and 12th centuries', *Keramos* 64 (1974), 15–22.

¹²¹ B. Babić, 'Trouvaille scellée de poterie de table byzantine à Skopsko Kale', *Arch.Iug.* 12 (1971), 45–53; S. Baraschi, 'Un cuptor de ars oale de Pacuiul-lui-Soare (secocol al XI lea)', *Studi si cercetari istorie veche* 25.3 (1974), 461–72.

Alexandria began to produce painted and incised ceramics in great quantities starting at 1100 AD.¹²²

This evidence strongly suggests that the population increase in Greece in the eleventh century should be related to the eruption of Turkic nomads from the regions north-east of the Caspian Sea between the Ural and Volga rivers at the end of the tenth century, and their subsequent haphazard advance until stopped by the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas, which led to substantial upheavals of settled populations.¹²³ Without documentation pottery types and their spread as delineated here are good indicators of movements of people.¹²⁴ The intensification of people and activities in Greece in the eleventh century is counterbalanced by the concomitant decline of Asia Minor at the same period.

When the eleventh- to twelfth-century glass factory at Corinth was published strong similarities between the Corinthian glasswares and Egyptian products were noted leading to the conclusion that Corinthian glassworking was derived from Egyptian.¹²⁵ The similarity of the Corinthian glass to glass products from Italy, from both the west coast of central Italy and the south-east, has led to the claim that the glassmakers in Greece were probably Italians and that the workshops were active in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, during the Frankish occupation of Corinth.¹²⁶ However, the picture, if it mirrors ceramics as it is likely to, may be that Corinth, Egypt, and Italy derived their glassworkers from a common origin. Because of the fragile nature of glass, its study is not as developed as that of ceramics, so the arguments cannot be developed. There is an Italian connection with the dissemination of ceramic production techniques at this time, as even the so-called *archaic majolica* of Italy has its origins in Amol ware from Khorasan.¹²⁷ The origins of Amol ware are unknown but it is acknowledged that its decoration falls between the sgraffito wares characteristic of Azerbaijan production and the slip-painted wares of Khorasan and Transoxiana of the

¹²² V. François, 'Contribution à l'étude d'Alexandrie islamique: la céramique médiévale de kom el-Dikka et kom el-Nadoura', *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano, atti del congresso internazionale nel primo centenario del museo Greco-romano di Alessandria-Cairo*, 23–28 Novembre 1992 (Palermo, 1995), 314–22.

¹²³ For the effects on Asia Minor see: Sp. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1971), 184–94, and Sp. Vryonis, 'Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor', *DOP* 29 (1975), 42–71.

¹²⁴ As P. Armstrong, 'Nomadic Seljuks in "Byzantine" Lycia', in S. Lampakis, *H Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία 6ος–12 ος αι.* (Athens, 1998), 321–31.

¹²⁵ Davidson, 'Glass Factory', *AJA* 44.3 (1940), 317.

¹²⁶ D. Whitehouse, 'Glassmaking at Corinth: A Reassessment', in *Ateliers de verriers: De l'Antiquité à la période pré-industrielle* (Rouen, 1991), 73–82.

¹²⁷ V. François, 'Les Seldjoukides, médiateurs des importations de céramiques perses à Byzance', *Byzance et l'Asie, 7e Symposion Byzantinon, décembre 1997, Byzantinische Forschungen*, XXV (1999), 101–10.

twelfth to thirteenth centuries.¹²⁸ Its strong visual similarities to the thirteenth-century productions of Italian *archaic majolica* have been noted as reaching Italy via Byzantium, but not investigated.¹²⁹

Elements of the forms of economic expansion appeared in the towns and countryside of Greece in the eleventh century. These elements developed further in the twelfth century but not to the same extent across all the regions of Greece. The economic situation of central Greece and its main city, Thebes, advanced exponentially while other areas to a lesser degree.

¹²⁸ *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. Amol Ware.

¹²⁹ G. Berti and L. Cappelli, *Dalle ceramiche Islamiche alle 'Maioliche Arcaiche' Secc. XI-XV* (Florence, 1994).

New Light on the Society of Byzantine Italy

Ghislaine Noyé

INTRODUCTION

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, as the Normans were beginning to assert themselves, Byzantium still had substantial possessions in southern Italy. The traditional view is that, despite several revolts, the Italian provinces were subject to effective Byzantine authority, especially so in the case of Calabria, which was thoroughly Hellenized. However, it is possible to paint an alternative picture of these peripheral provinces, on the basis of a rereading of the written sources, particularly narrative and hagiographic ones, and careful consideration of the archaeological evidence. Stress can be laid rather on the numerous Italian revolts and attempts at secession, due to the change in local society and its relationship to the imperial centre induced (1) by the raids of Muslims, Lombards, and Franks, and (2) by economic growth which started at the end of the tenth century.

While concepts of centre and periphery have been popular with historians, hitherto they have privileged the notion of *empire* and have viewed the margins from the centre.¹ This has been true of thinking about the Byzantine Empire.² But the perspective can, of course, be inverted. Then we approach the relationship of Italy to the capital from the local level, and start by endeavouring to define the point of view of the provincials. This is the guiding

¹ See for example F. Hurllet, ed., *Les Empires. Antiquité et Moyen Âge. Analyse comparée* (Rennes, 2008), whose perspective remains widely centripetal.

² H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur la société byzantine au XI^e siècle: nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités', *TM* 6 (1976), 99–124; E. Malamut, 'Constantin VII et son image de l'Italie', in E. Konstantinou, ed., *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 1997), 269–92; *eadem*, 'Les peuples étrangers dans l'idéologie impériale. Scythes et occidentaux', *L'étranger au Moyen Âge. Actes du 30^e Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (Göttingen, 1999), 119–32.

principle which underpinned the work of André Guillou, a pioneer in this respect,³ and of several recent studies.⁴

In the eleventh century, Byzantium at first appeared to be in a strong position in the south of the peninsula: it dominated or tried to control (1) the theme of Calabria, created in the tenth century alongside the pre-existing theme of Sicily (before its final conquest by the Muslims),⁵ (2) the theme of Longobardia which had been raised in status to become the Catepanate of Italy,⁶ and (3) the recently created theme of Lucania.⁷ Even if the project of carving out a southern ‘Grand Lombardy’—which would have brought the Principalities of Capua-Benevento and Salerno under the authority of the *basileus*—ended in failure in the late ninth century, the fact remains that after the occupation of Capitanata around 980, Byzantium held more territory in the peninsula than it had since the sixth century.

The three regions of southern Italy, Apulia (Longobardia), Lucania, and Calabria, are physically very different. In Apulia, the landscape is one of vast, flat expanses which are almost uniform. The plain of the Tavoliere—bordered to the west by the hills of the pre-Appennines—is covered mainly by clay. The limestone plateaux of the Murge rise in tiers from the Adriatic, to fall away abruptly to the south-west at the Bradano gap. They reach their lowest point in the Salento peninsula, which is devoted to cereal cultivation. Settlement is concentrated where the water which drains through the karst bedrock collects

³ A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l’empire byzantin au VII^e siècle. L’exemple de l’Exarcate et de la Pentapole d’Italie* (Rome, 1969).

⁴ J.-C. Cheynet, ‘Le gouvernement des marges de l’empire byzantin’, in C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi, eds, *Le pouvoir au Moyen Age: idéologies, pratiques, représentation* (Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 103–22; M. Schnettger, ‘Le Saint Empire et ses périphéries: l’exemple de l’Italie’, *Histoire, économie et société* 23.1 (2004), 7–23.

⁵ Between 948/952 (date of composition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c.50.236, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967)) and 956: V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell’Italia meridionale dal IX al XII secolo* (Bari, 1978). The theme of Sicily was kept in being because the Byzantines remained determined to reconquer the island, notably between 930 and 944 and in the 960s: V. Prigent, ‘La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène’, in D. Barthelemy and J.-C. Cheynet, eds, *Guerre et société, Byzance-Occident (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 2010), 63–84; *Bios kai politeia tou osiou patros emôn Neilou tou Néou*, ed. G. Giovanelli (Badia di Grottaferatta, 1972), 101, c. 60.

⁶ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 46–51.

⁷ The theme is mentioned in 1042: *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1030–1060/1061)*, ed. A. Guillou, *Corpus des actes grecs d’Italie du sud et de Sicile 1* (Città del Vaticano, 1967), 44–9, doc. 3. It is later than the Escorial Taktikon (971–975) but the grouping together of Italy and Calabria under the authority of a single catepan does not necessarily exclude the possibility of its existence in the 1020s (contra Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 65–8), because this district’s shape is unusual (it is bisected by the possessions of the principality of Salerno). It disappeared at the beginning of the 1050s; other small frontier themes were then created elsewhere in the Empire: H. Ahrweiler, ‘Recherches sur l’administration de l’empire byzantin aux IX^e–XI^e siècles’, *BCH* 84 (1960), 1–109, at 46 sq and in *eadem*, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London 1971), no. VIII.

on tertiary plates.⁸ Apulia is in general conducive to olive cultivation. The mountain country of Lucania and Calabria is, on the other hand, the realm of forest and animal husbandry. There are also coastal plains, which can turn into marshland through erosion and shifts in the shoreline, but which remained fertile during the period under consideration. The most important are those of Metaponto and Sibari on the Gulf of Taranto, and the isthmus of Catanzaro and adjoining strips of land. The main Calabrian mountain ranges, crystalline and metamorphic in nature—the Sila to the north-east, occupying almost half the region, and the Serre and Aspromonte to the south—are drained by many watercourses and are crossed by convenient transverse routes. The wealth of the province lies in its abundant metal deposits of many sorts, in its vine-clad hills, and in its long coastline which opens out onto both eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean.

After the 880s when they deployed considerable forces against the Muslims,⁹ the central Byzantine authorities failed to maintain their efforts even though Lombard and Ottonian ambitions posed additional threats beside the continuing Arab menace. A striking show of force against Benevento in 934–5 had no more than a temporary effect, and the large military expeditions of the 950s and 960s were significant failures. For the rest, southern Italy was left to its own devices. Much more important, though, was the policy of defence-in-depth and the associated fiscal and military measures adopted by the imperial and provincial authorities in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Arab raids, local revolts, and Lombard wars, which had been on the increase since the end of the ninth century, calmed down for a while, and, with peace, prosperity returned.

This makes it all the more surprising that it took a mere three decades for a band of Normans to seize the Italian provinces and to reorganize them into seigneuries on a feudal basis. They achieved this by avoiding initially the eastern coastline, which had been powerfully fortified by Constantinople, and concentrating rather on the interior of Apulia, of which they were put in charge by the Lombards in 1043 and which they then conquered swiftly. In a second phase they took the plain of Sibari and the Crati Valley, and continued down the Tyrrhenian coastline to Reggio. Confident after these successes, they invaded the eastern coastlands in a third phase, where Bari was taken in 1071 and Squillace was the last town to fall.

The ease of these conquests can be explained by the character of southern Italian society, which had gradually taken shape on the edge of the western political sphere. Attempts at usurpation and rebellion, which were notable

⁸ J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 179 (Rome, 1993), 70–86.

⁹ Apulia and northern Calabria had been well settled for nearly half a century.

features of the eleventh century, were lineal descendants of tenth-century events. Provincial society was divided into two distinct groups, one 'Greek', the other 'Latin'. Calabria, firmly within the Byzantine orbit since the reign of Justinian,¹⁰ had been open to migration first from the east and then from the Balkans and was thoroughly Hellenized from the eighth century. The demographic crisis which followed the Arab occupation and the damaging military operations involved in the Byzantine reconquest of the ninth century was countered by the customary policy of substantial population transfers. Those resettled in southern Italy included Armenians and former slaves from the Peloponnese.¹¹

The Hellenization of the Lombard possessions in Lucania and northern Calabria happened a century later, when the inhabitants of the southern tip of the peninsula and Christians from Sicily fled from the Muslims, and came north, notably to the eparchy of the Merkourion or Valley of the Lao, and present-day Basilicata. Monks likewise migrated north, possibly also driven by a desire for ideological and political expansion. The Sicilian Vital de Castronuovo's wanderings are representative of this phenomenon: he first reached the Sila and, after a pilgrimage to Rome, travelled for several years between Cassano and Pietra Roseto on the Ionian Sea, before going deep into the heart of eastern Lucania where he restored and founded monasteries, finally settling down on the territories of Turri and Rapolla where he died in 993.¹² Saint Luke of Armento, from Reggio, haunted the same mountains. However much they wanted to lead withdrawn lives, as hermits or coenobites, the monks did not lose contact with lay society, partly because the provincials would seek them out in remote places, partly because, at times of crisis, monks joined the laity for lengthy periods in the *kastra* and *kastellia*, which acted as refuges.¹³

Byzantium had intensified its authority in the duchy of Calabria by the foundation or refoundation of urban *kastra* in several building campaigns. These fortified urban settlements provided an administrative and military framework for the recolonization of some depopulated regions in the middle

¹⁰ G. Noyé, 'L'économie de la Calabre de la fin du VI^e au VIII^e siècle', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 2 (2014), 322–77.

¹¹ G. Noyé, 'Byzance et l'Italie méridionale', in L. Brubaker, ed., *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), 229–43; *eadem*, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', in E. Cuozzo and J.-M. Martin, eds, *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager* (Rome–Bari, 1998), 90–116; *eadem*, 'Puglia e Calabria dall'888 agli anni 960: Longobardi, Arabi e "bizantinità"', in C. Wickham and M. Valenti, eds, *888–960: una svolta? IV Seminario del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo* (Turnhout, 2014), 169–217.

¹² *Vita sancti Vitalis*, AASS, Mart. II, 27–35.

¹³ For example *Bios Neilou*, 76, col. 29; *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii iuniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste, patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzzi (Rome, 1893) (BHG 1611), 17, c. 9, 21, c. 11 and 46, c. 21; *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, AASS, Oct. VI, 337–42, iii.8–10.

of the eighth century and at the end of the ninth. Greek episcopal sees were points of control, of which use could be made in the delicate process of extending Byzantine authority, whether by political and military action over Lombard territory or by forcible transfer of churches from the Papacy to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This policy led for example to the promotion of the see of Reggio to metropolitan status at the turn of the eighth and ninth century.¹⁴ Large fortified enclosures were also created on the heights, to act as military bases from which to secure nearby mines and/or as refuges for the inhabitants of inland *chôria* (villages).

Nevertheless Byzantium retained hopes of recovering the centre and south of the peninsula.¹⁵ This was plainly indicated by the creation of the Catepanate of Italy in 968 and by the considerable administrative flexibility allowed to accommodate the distinctive character of previously Lombard regions¹⁶ without breaching the unity of the Empire. Anneliese Nef rightly defined this policy of diversity within unity as ecumenism.¹⁷ The Empire's Latin-speaking subjects were allowed to keep their own legal system (Lombard private law), as well as their language and the Latin rite. The Beneventan administrative system was partly retained and indeed revived. The *gastalds* who were its lynchpins and presided over the courts were chosen, at least towards the end of the tenth century, from among local notables.¹⁸

The new Greek power adapted perfectly to the local principle of the private church, also very widespread in Calabria. When episcopal and metropolitan sees multiplied with the cities in central Apulia during the tenth century, the prelates were chosen from the Latin aristocracy, under the control of the Byzantine authorities.¹⁹ Taranto was one of the rare exceptions to the rule of tolerance,²⁰ probably because of the existence of a pro-Muslim party among the inhabitants. This could explain the participation of the city's archbishop in the rebellion of the eleventh century. Likewise the old episcopal sees of the Crati Valley, although they retained their Latin bishops,²¹ were attached to the

¹⁴ The metropolis is included in Notitia 3, dated by V. Prigent between 787 and 869: V. Prigent, 'Les évêchés byzantins de la Calabre septentrionale au VIII^e siècle', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 114 (2002), 931–53.

¹⁵ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 52–4.

¹⁶ Only part of the Salento was Hellenized thanks to the arrival of Greek populations from the Sila: J.-M. Martin, 'Une origine calabraise pour la Grecia salentine?', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 22–3 (1985–6), 51–63.

¹⁷ A. Nef, 'Imaginaire impérial, empire et œcuménisme religieux: quelques réflexions depuis la Sicile des Hauteville', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 2 (2012), 227–49.

¹⁸ J.-M. Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens. Territoire, administration, population' (2006), in *idem*, *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 2014), no. XII, 197–229, at 207–12.

¹⁹ Martin, 'La Pouille', 564–7, 588–99, and 625.

²⁰ V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca bizantina', *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 9 (1968), 133–66, at 151; *eadem*, *La dominazione bizantina*, 166.

²¹ *Chronicon Vulturturnense del Monaco Giovanni*, ed. V. Federici, FSI 38 (Rome, 1925–1938), 39 (around 900–2).

metropolis of Reggio at the end of the ninth century,²² since it was a strategic region leading to the heart of Calabria. But there was no attempt to Hellenize religious practice there, despite the presence of a few adherents of the Greek rite in the following century.²³

These ecclesiastical arrangements made a positive contribution to the Byzantine position. Bishops were integrated into the hierarchy of senior officials and, on the whole, served as agents of the imperial power, remaining in close contact with the capital.²⁴ They even took up arms to defend the Empire: two bishops from Apulia died during the battle of Montemaggiore in 1041,²⁵ and the bishop of Cassano led an army against the Normans.²⁶ But while their loyalty was strong in Calabria, elsewhere in the Catepanate it depended on the aristocratic factions to which the bishops belonged: for example, Archbishop *Bisantius* of Bari hated the Greeks in the eleventh century.²⁷ Monks could also behave like soldiers: Saint Luke of Armento's disciples killed a good number of Arabs who had settled at the foot of the monastic *castellum*.²⁸

THREATS TO BYZANTIUM'S POSSESSIONS IN ITALY

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the perils menacing Byzantine Italy were both internal and external. Senior officials did not revolt as they had in the past: the last attempt was that of the *strategos* of Sicily John Byzalon before 921–922.²⁹ On the other hand, the geographical distance of the capital provided them with a sort of impunity³⁰ which encouraged bad administrative practices and endemic corruption,³¹ of which the worst representatives were

²² J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), notitia 7, 283.

²³ In Bisignano (in the year 903): *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi-Taibbi (Palermo 1962), 116; in Malvito (in the years 983–4): P. F. Kehr, *Regestum Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontificia*, X, *Calabria-Insulae*, ed. W. Holtzmann and D. Girgensohn (Zurich, 1975), 87.

²⁴ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, 164; Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', 95.

²⁵ W. J. Churchill, *The 'Annales Barenses' and the 'Annales Lupi Protospatharii': Critical Edition and Commentary* (Toronto, 1979), 'Annales Barenses' ad ann. 1041, 22.

²⁶ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius auctore Goffredo Malaterra monacho benedictino*, ed. E. Pontieri (Bologna, 1927), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 5.2, i.32, 22.

²⁷ *Annales Barenses*, ad ann. 1035, 18.

²⁸ *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, 49, c.3.8.

²⁹ *Vita et conversatio S. patris nostri Eliae Spelaetotae*, AASS., Sept. III, 848–87, at 870 A; *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin–New York, 1972), 263.

³⁰ Theophanes continuatus, vi.30, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 453–4.

³¹ For example *Vita S. Eliae Spelaetotae*, 853 C–854 A.

the same Byzalon and Ursileon in Longobardia, while from 947 Krinitis organized a profitable traffic of Calabrian wheat bound for Sicily.³²

These abuses provoked revolts in both themes, as did the resumption of Arab raiding from 888 to 889.³³ The Arabs now preferred border warfare to conquest. It was both more manageable and as lucrative: it fuelled the slave trade, one of the most dynamic economic sectors of the Mediterranean economy, at the same time ensuring a regular supply of precious metals and cereals or even flour, a commodity that was common both in Gerace and the port of Reggio.³⁴

The treaty negotiated by Constantine VII and his mother in 918 was in effect an admission of powerlessness. The annual Byzantine tribute of 22,000 gold coins institutionalized and rationalized the Arabs' forcible appropriation of Calabrian metals. This naturally enraged the Italians, who were already subjected to taxation. Thereafter any missed payment of the *jizya* resulted in an expedition of Muslims to claim their dues, as happened at the time of the 921 uprising. The assassination of Byzalon was a sign not of Calabrian loyalty but rather of exasperation at a state which was proving incapable of protecting them.³⁵ Hence the new agreement negotiated by Romanos I which authorized African ships³⁶ to help themselves from the half of the province not under imperial control.³⁷ This they did immediately.³⁸

The princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, who were then entering a prosperous period in their history, took advantage of every occasion, whether a cry for help from the Latins or an Arab expedition, to plan concerted attacks and occupy large tracts of territory in Apulia and Calabria to the loss of which they had never been reconciled. Thus the Latin Crati Valley had only submitted to Byzantium in return for protection against the Arabs. When they resumed warfare in 902 and sacked Cosenza and the surrounding area,³⁹ the region turned sporadically to the Lombards who

³² Scylitzes, 265–6; for the date C. Zuckerman, 'Squabbling Protospatharioi and Other Administrative Issues from the First Half of the Tenth Century', *REB* 72 (2014), 193–234.

³³ Noyé, 'Byzance et l'Italie méridionale'; *eadem*, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands'.

³⁴ In the years 901 and 902: *Cambridge Chronicle (Cronaca Siculo-Saracena)*, ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, I, Einleitung und Text*, CFHB 12.1 (Vienna, 1975–79), 326–40, at 336, c. 36 and 37; Ibn Idari in A. A. Vasiliev, rev. M. Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II.2 (Brussels, 1950), 214–9, at 216; *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, 62–4, c. 41 and 82, c. 53.

³⁵ See *supra* n. 29. ³⁶ Scylitzes, 364.

³⁷ This is the halving of tribute mentioned at *Antapodosis*, ii.43 (*Liutprand de Crémone. Oeuvres*, trans. and commentary F. Bougard (Paris, 2015), 164); for the date, see Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', 100–1.

³⁸ *Cambridge Chronicle*, in *Byzance et les Arabes*, II.2, 99–106, at 103, and ed. Schreiner, 337.43–4; Ibn Idari, 217 (*Hagia-Agathe*).

³⁹ *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, 64–6, c. 53; *Kitab al-Uyun*, in *Byzance et les Arabes*, 220–5, at 221; Ibn al-Atir, in *Byzance et les Arabes*, 129–62, at 135 and 143.

then used it as a forward operating base.⁴⁰ The Pope attached to Salerno the new episcopal see of Malvito in 983–4 without encountering opposition, but did the same also for the old ones of Bisignano, claimed by the Metropolis of Reggio, and Cosenza,⁴¹ which Constantinople made an autocephalous archbishopric, thereby conserving its Latin features but with less chance of Lombard interference.⁴² Finally, the Lombard princes united with the Ottomians who wished to recover the southern part of the *regnum italicum* usurped by Byzantium: Pandulf of Capua ravaged Lucania in 967–968; Apulia and the northern Calabria were invaded in 982.⁴³

Real anti-Byzantine parties thus started to form. In Apulia, the Lombard aristocracy, well attested under Beneventan domination, had survived Bari's occupation by the Arabs: it helped to eject them⁴⁴ and it is clear that the 921 episode was much more than a simple popular uprising.⁴⁵ The successive revolts of the tenth and eleventh centuries confirmed that there had been no need for Byzantium to create a local elite to whom they could entrust the administration of the region since one was still in place at the time of the reconquest.⁴⁶ Although there is little information about how Apulia was managed over the following decades until the 980s, there are numerous indications of disobedience. Apart from Benevento's attempts, a riot caused bloodshed in Bari in 946.⁴⁷ Conversano was besieged the following year by Platopidus—a military leader who belonged to the local elite—as was Ascoli by the Byzantines in 950.⁴⁸ Lastly, it was against this province and Naples that the grand naval expedition of 956 from Constantinople was directed, its success being followed by retaliation in Bari, where three people were burned.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Scylitzes, 263, c. 5.

⁴¹ P. F. Kehr, *Regestum Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontificia, VIII Campania* (Berlin, 1935), 340 sq., 345 and 346, nn. 10 and 11; Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 70.

⁴² Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 163.

⁴³ J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris, 1904), 296–8 and 310–15.

⁴⁴ In Taranto for example: J.-M. Martin, 'L'économie du thème de Longobardie/catépanat d'Italie (IX^e–XI^e siècle)', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 2 (2014), 305–22, at 321; see also the case of *protospatharios* Gaido, probably a Lombard noble (Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 204).

⁴⁵ Letters of the patriarch Nicholas Mysticus: V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, *Les actes des patriarches*, 1–2 *Les régestes de 715 à 1206*, 2nd ed. corr. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1989), nos 741–4; about Ursileon, Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 80.

⁴⁶ As Jean-Marie Martin guesses (Martin, 'L'économie du thème de Longobardie', 321).

⁴⁷ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 946, 63: *inter cives*.

⁴⁸ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 947, 64 and *ad ann.* 950, 65; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 214–16.

⁴⁹ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 955, 67 and *ad ann.* 956, 68; Theophanes continuatus, vi.30, 454.

In Calabria, the local elite, whose capacity for resistance had increased in the ninth century, progressively detached itself from imperial obedience. As far back as 901, one Koloumbos had the resources and social skills at his disposal to usurp the position of *strategos* and was supported by part of the population.⁵⁰ In 965, Gregorios Maleinos, *archôn* of Rossano, *prôtospatharios* and a close friend of the *magistros* (and *strategos*) Nikephoros Hexakionites, led the city's insurrection. The extent of the revolts was such that the substantial forces sent by the capital to Calabria from 951 had difficulty penetrating into the region, and carried out brutal reprisals. Defeated by the Muslims, the expedition's leaders were forced, in 952–953, to request a truce in exchange for constructing a great mosque in Reggio, a future place of asylum for the Muslims.⁵¹ Yet a pro-Byzantine party still existed, and occasioned a veritable civil war: *kastra*, which remained loyal to the Empire, were attacked by local troops, numerous and armed, who allied themselves in turn with the Muslims. Finally, the local elite sided with Otto II during his campaign against the Arabs.⁵²

The two *strategoi* were defending vast territories, Apulia stretching from Gargano to Salento and Calabria including Sicily, the object of some of the *basileus'* rare military expeditions because of the continuing war with the Arabs.⁵³ Abandoned to their fate and caught in the crossfire, they came together on desperate occasions, such as when defending Oria against the Arabs in 925–926.⁵⁴ Basil Kladon, who had authority over both themes, was based in Benevento,⁵⁵ but this combination of commands, far from indicating an improvement in the situation,⁵⁶ marked a new stage in the decline of imperial authority. Thereafter there was no *strategos* of Sicily/Calabria until the end of the 940s. Calabria was thus practically independent, apart from brief intervals, between 920 and 951.

Byzantium's prolonged absence led to a fragmentation of defensive effort which increased the urban elite's power. Each *kastron* besieged by the Arabs became accustomed to organizing its own resistance, negotiating truces and/or surrendering, and developed a sentiment of particularism, which was still strong when the Normans arrived. The fragmented system of defence also weakened the open country which was repeatedly ravaged, its population being drained by the capture of slaves. Thus it facilitated the partial privatization

⁵⁰ *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, 100–2, c. 64.

⁵¹ *Bios Neilou*, 102–3, c. 62 (insurrection) and Ibn al-Atir, 159 (mosque); the mosque was destroyed by the captain of a ship in 955–6 (*Cambridge Chronicle*, 106).

⁵² Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 63–4.

⁵³ Prigent, 'La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène'.

⁵⁴ *Cambridge Chronicle* (Arab), 104; Ibn Idari, 217.

⁵⁵ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 180.

⁵⁶ Zuckerman, 'Squabbling Protospatharioi'.

of the *choria*, and the extension of aristocratic power over rural populations who needed protection in the form of private fortifications. Like *Koloumbos*, the local elite then certainly proceeded to raise soldiers on its own account, as illustrated by the military exploits of a simple naval captain who destroyed the mosque in Reggio and immediately thereafter went on to score a victory in Sicily.⁵⁷ Thus it was in this period, the first half of the tenth century, that there came into being the domains which appear in the texts only in the eleventh century (when they had been broken up by partitive inheritance, but still bore their names of origin).

Byzantium's apparent neglect and the incompetence of senior local officials contributed greatly to the consolidation of a landowning aristocracy in Calabria, part of which was militarized, as well as to the autonomy of fortified towns. At the same time a strong party opposed to the centre came into being. Apulia too rebelled against an ineffective or predatory administration, and maintained close ties with the Lombard princes who continued to act more or less as rulers in the region. There the relative absence of the Arabs encouraged economic development which benefited the Latin elite.

INVESTMENT BY THE CENTRE IN LOCAL DEFENCE

Byzantium's response was late but effective. A thorough overhaul of the defensive system was undertaken, involving the early introduction of Nikephoros II's military reforms and initiation of a fortification programme which was to last most of the eleventh century.⁵⁸

The thematic armies, which, being slow and ineffective,⁵⁹ had faded away after a phase of activity in the 880s⁶⁰ and in 901,⁶¹ returned to play a role in the eleventh century. Thus, Basil Boiōannes was able to make the *Barenenses* cross the Adriatic before taking them to Sicily in 1027, while the *Apuliae atque Calabriae milites*, who intervened alongside the *Capitanates* in 1041,⁶²

⁵⁷ *Cambridge Chronicle* (Arab), 106. *Supra* n.51.

⁵⁸ Placenames, inscriptions (for Taranto: A. Jacob, 'La reconstruction de Tarente par les Byzantins aux IX^e et X^e siècles. À propos de deux inscriptions perdues', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 68 (1988), 1–19) or narrative sources (E. Caspar, 'Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 10 (1907), 1–56, at 34).

⁵⁹ To judge by the Life of St Philaretos, they probably consisted of peasants and farmers lacking training: H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration', 9; some *stratiōtai* are still mentioned in the *Bios Neilou*, 110, c. 70.

⁶⁰ *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, 132.20, ed. S. Wahlgren, CFHB 44.1 (Berlin, 2006), 266–7.

⁶¹ *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, 64–6, c. 43.

⁶² Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1041, 121; *Annales Barenenses*, *ad ann.* 1027, 17 and *ad ann.* 1041, 22 (*Calabricsi, Longobardi, Capitanates*).

had been involved in action on Sicily in 1038.⁶³ The *conterati*, named after their specific weapon (the spear, *kontarion*),⁶⁴ were recruited locally and had a very strong presence in Apulia around the same time.⁶⁵ The *strateumata* were thus reorganized between the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, thanks notably to the creation of a hard core of professional soldiers who were constantly available to the catepan. The presence of these forces, required because of Italy's position on a disputed border, may be connected with the continued coexistence of both types of *strateia*.⁶⁶

The *strateia*, attached to certain lands and hereditary,⁶⁷ is first documented in Apulia in the 980s⁶⁸ and in Calabria in 1005,⁶⁹ although it certainly existed beforehand.⁷⁰ Its fiscalization (a monetary contribution replacing personal military service) was generalized between the death of Nikephoros II (969) and its first known attestation in 1045, when Catepan Eustathios Palatinos abandoned to the judge Byzantios the *strateia* of the inhabitants of his villages.⁷¹ It was an important source of funding for the army. Indeed, until the end of Byzantine rule, some contracts regarding the central sector of the Apulian coast contained a clause guaranteeing exemption from *servitium dominicum*, *strateia*, or *militia*.⁷² These provisions, rather numerous compared to the amount of conserved documents, suggest that the size of the property supporting a *strateia* had been increased from the reign of Nikephoros II, as had special contributions for expeditions. The programme devised for the creation of a new Calabrian fleet in 965 involved exactions corresponding to those detailed by Ibn Hawqal.⁷³

Further evidence of imperial commitment is provided by the impressive number of officers belonging to the central army who are attested in southern Italy. Provincial *tagmata* had intervened in the past, notably against Landulf of

⁶³ *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH*, SS, XXXIV, ii.66, 298.

⁶⁴ Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration', 14 and 30.

⁶⁵ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 132; one tax relates to this corps, the *κουταράτων ἐκβολή*: F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), doc. 42.

⁶⁶ For the *strateumata*: J.-C. Cheynet, 'L'armée et la marine', in J.-C. Cheynet, ed., *Le monde byzantin*, II, *L'Empire byzantin 641–204* (Paris, 2007), 154 and for the *strateia*, 161.

⁶⁷ Martin, *La Pouille*, 703: acts of 1017 and 1034.

⁶⁸ Three acts, of 980, 999 (the Catepan refused to include a clause *defendere a servitio dominico* in the tax exemptions granted to some clerics of Bari and Trani), and 1034: Martin, *La Pouille*, 702–4; *idem*, 'Les thèmes italiens', 541.

⁶⁹ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 13 (somebody is protected 'ἐκ στρατιώτικῆς δουλείας'); there are hardly any earlier written sources.

⁷⁰ See *infra*.

⁷¹ J. Lefort and J.-M. Martin, 'Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie Eustathe Palatinos pour le juge Byzantios (décembre 1045)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 98 (1986), 525–42, at 538–9.

⁷² Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 217–18.

⁷³ Ibn Hawqal, in *Byzance et les Arabes*, II.2, 409–21, at 414–17.

Benevento in 934–5.⁷⁴ What was new was not even the stable presence of *tagma* troops,⁷⁵ but their installation in large numbers at the very end of the tenth and in the eleventh century.⁷⁶ The well-represented *excubitors* were dependent, in the Catepanate, on resident domestics who, in order of importance, were situated between the *strategos* and his representatives. Sometimes *excubitors* found themselves at the top of the hierarchy, in command and fighting on behalf of the catepan, but normally their competence was limited to urban centres. The *scribônes* of Crotona probably belonged to the same corps of officers⁷⁷ like the *hikanatoi*, frequently mentioned by the anonymous author of Bari, who were inserted into the list of 1016.

Taxiarchs, with very varied functions,⁷⁸ are attested throughout the eleventh century: in Lucania, the cartulary of Carbone shows them grouped in three small towns near the abbey, which probably means that there were actually many more of them; the same was doubtless true of Calabria, where there is evidence of three in Stilo in 1054, and others later in the north of the province.⁷⁹ Two *prôtomandatores* were linked to the imperial arsenals (*armamenta*) of Bari in 1032⁸⁰ and to those of Calabria.⁸¹ Finally, the presence of a *droungarios*, two *proximoi*, two *chartoularioi* of the *Scholai*, and a reasonable number of *kometai tes kortes* must be mentioned: in Taranto, one of them was classified as *komes tou kastrou Tarantou*⁸² and there were three in Oppido towards the middle of the century.

Such military units, often made up of foreign, professional soldiers, regarded in principle as more reliable for Byzantium,⁸³ are documented mainly in the

⁷⁴ For a precise account of their strength: Prigent, 'La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène'.

⁷⁵ V. Prigent, 'Topotérètes de Sicile et de Calabre aux VIII^e–IX^e siècles', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 9 (2006), 145–58.

⁷⁶ About the *tagmata* and the thematic armies, see Noyé, 'Puglia e Calabria dall'888 agli anni 960', with sources and bibliography; *eadem*, 'Aristocratie et rebellions dans l'Italie byzantine des X^e–XI^e siècles', forthcoming in proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016).

⁷⁷ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1058, 162.

⁷⁸ A taxiarch was sent to Tricarico to determine the city's boundaries, but was driven away by marauding Arabs: A. Guillou and W. Holtzmann, 'Zwei Katepansurkunden aus Tricarico', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 41 (1961), repr. in A. Guillou, *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (London, 1970), 18 (1001–2).

⁷⁹ A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristsès (1054–1264)*, *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile* 5 (Città del Vaticano, 1980), doc. 1; Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso*, doc. 4.

⁸⁰ Martin 'Les thèmes italiens', 214–16 (in 1032).

⁸¹ A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)*, *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile* 4 (Città del Vaticano, 1974), 196 and 475.

⁸² G. Robinson, 'History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone, II, Cartulary, II-1', *Orientalia Christiana*, 15.2, doc. 58 (Rome, 1929), and 'II-2', *ibid.*, 19.1, doc. 62 (Rome, 1930), doc. 3 (1044) and doc. 4 (1049); Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 26 (1033), doc. 31 (1039), doc. 32 (1040) and doc. 43 (1058); Martin, *La Pouille*, 700 (Acena, Lucera, and Troia).

⁸³ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 129–30, n. 178.

Catepanate and in Lucania, where *topoteretai* of the *Scholai* were to be found, placed like the *excubitors* at the head of an army or garrison. Their presence in some *kastra* seems to be indicated by the appearance—either against the outer walls or in the interior—of large buildings fitted with wooden benches and storage structures, such as in Squillace and Tiriolo. They made a strong impact on the economy and social fabric: whereas some of them returned home at the end of their career—like the *prôtomandator* Lorikatos, from Constantinople—others stayed in Italy where the local authorities might grant them a house in exchange for their service.⁸⁴ In Bari, the *hikanatos* John owned, like his father, several houses in the 1030s, when they were pillaged and destroyed,⁸⁵ while Peter, son of an *excubitor*, owned an oven, a piece of information which recalls the large bread oven used in the *praitôrion* of Vaccarizza during the same period.⁸⁶ Thus they formed dynasties of officials, also known at Polignano and Taranto.

A good number of officers settled in the large ports of the Adriatic, and engaged in trading, investing their pay in commercial ventures. Those who came from the east could make use of their relatives overseas to enrich themselves. Other *tagma* officers were recruited locally such as the *topoteretes* of the *Scholai* Smaragdus⁸⁷ who, in 1003, fought a rebel from Conversano and had him condemned by the city's tourmarch, while another Smaragdus (the rarity of whose name suggests he was from the same family), a cavalryman in the thematic army, was on the rebel side.⁸⁸ One of Maraldus's (= probably Smaragdus) boats was shipwrecked in 1045 on the route from Tarsus to Asia Minor.⁸⁹

One of the aims behind the installation of *tagmata* was perhaps to promote cultural integration and thus to strengthen the ties between the Italian periphery and the centre. But the transplants did not take root because the troops were seen as an army of occupation and as rivals to local traders on the economic front. Their behaviour too was tumultuous and their relations with other branches of the administration seem to have been complicated. The latter were forced to intervene when soldiers behaved like brutal mercenaries and/or tyrants in the towns where they had settled. The *scribônes* of Crotona were thus massacred by order of the *patricius* Tromby.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ This is precisely the case of Lorikatos (Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 25): see A. Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IX^e–XIV^e siècle). Une acculturation en douceur*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 420 (Rome, 2009), 112.

⁸⁵ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, RIS 5, 145–56, *ad ann.* 1036 (*zalate sunt case Iohannes Ycanato*) and *ad ann.* 1039 (*dirutae sunt domus Maraldi et Adralisto*).

⁸⁶ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 214 (in 1017); E. Cirelli and G. Noyé, 'La motta di Vaccarizza e le fortificazioni in terra della Capitanata', *Archeologia Medievale* 41 (2014), 69–99.

⁸⁷ He signed in Latin: Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 133. ⁸⁸ See *infra*.

⁸⁹ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1045, 151. ⁹⁰ *Supra* n. 77.

As important as the boost in troop numbers was the commitment of the imperial government to improving the physical defences of southern Italy; considerable funds were invested in construction sites. In the ninth–tenth century, *kastra* (fortified towns) without strong natural defences—especially those on the coast (e.g. Tauriana)—were abandoned or moved to mountain sites, while others, like Taranto and Brindisi, which were badly damaged, were repaired and reinforced.⁹¹ A programme of fortress-building and restoration was started before the end of the tenth century,⁹² thanks to the early introduction of *kastrotisia* in Italy.⁹³ And the building campaign continued during the eleventh century, for example in the case of Reggio: at each raid from Sicily, the inhabitants had put up no resistance and abandoned the city. So its mint had ceased to function as early as 912.⁹⁴ In 1027 the outer wall was rebuilt and flanked to the south by a fortified suburb or *exōkastron*.⁹⁵

The founding of fortified cities was sufficiently frequent for the procedure, which apparently had not changed much since the eighth century, to be codified in a written document (*engraphon eis systasin kastrou*).⁹⁶ According to the chronicle of Tres Tabernae, in the 1040s, the *strategos* would propose several alternative large sites to the *basileus*.⁹⁷ Each would be in a strong natural position, would have access to water, would itself be accessible, and would possess a fertile territory. There was evidence of demographic growth, as the rural population from neighbouring *casalia* was once again gathered in the new *kastra* as had been the case in the sixth century, but henceforth in order to be protected from the Saracens. This traditional practice of the Byzantine authorities was updated in the case of Catanzaro, through the donation in full ownership to each settler of plots of land in different parts of the urban territory, in what was a Byzantine version of *incastellamento*. The *engraphon* of Troia repeated these measures in 1019:⁹⁸ the city's territory

⁹¹ Those towns had been almost destroyed: Jacob, 'La reconstruction de Tarente'.

⁹² It is mentioned as soon as 999 in *sigilla* of exemption in Apulia (Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 204; *idem*, *La Pouille*, 259), but it certainly existed also in Calabria.

⁹³ Public corvée of construction and restoration of the fortified walls (Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration').

⁹⁴ S. Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologna, 2008), 205.

⁹⁵ *Annales Baresnes*, ad ann. 1027, 17; Guillou, *Le brébion*, 47 and 179.

⁹⁶ Noyé, 'L'économie de la Calabre de la fin du VI^e au VIII^e siècle'; G. Ferrari Dalle Spade, 'Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina', *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 33 (1913), 41–128, at 55–6 and n. 18; the chronicle shows that it was actually applied.

⁹⁷ Caspar, 'Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien', 36; Constantine IX was the emperor in question according to Vera von Falkenhausen (*La dominazione bizantina*, 105).

⁹⁸ J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, 'Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e siècle)', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morrisson, eds, *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, II, VIII^e–XV^e siècle, Réalités byzantines 3 (Paris, 1991), 27–62.

(*sunora*) was demarcated, and immigrants from Ariano Irpino's Lombard earldom were attracted to it by tax exemptions.

The *praitôrion*, a key component of Byzantine *kastra* in Italy from the sixth century (much less extensive in the eighth century, when cities perched on top of narrow peaks), recovered its importance in the eleventh century, when one was built in Catanzaro at the same time as the town. As well as the provincial capitals, Reggio and Bari,⁹⁹ most cities had *praitôria*, which were fortified areas with dimensions varying according to their importance. Normally they enclosed a few buildings, among which there might be one of more imposing appearance, with administrative and judicial functions, its architecture designed to uphold Byzantine prestige—there is a good example dating from the tenth–eleventh century on the acropolis at Squillace with walls carefully coated in mortar and a paved floor into which a large masonry silo was cut.¹⁰⁰ The *praitôrion* often included one or more churches; at Stilo, it also housed the *strategos's hospitium*, and a prison.¹⁰¹

The Lombard analogue to the *praitôrion*, the *palatium*, which was already fortified like other western palaces, was remodelled by the Byzantines after the reconquest. Thus, in Vaccarizza,¹⁰² the outer wall was repaired where necessary, and structures of rammed earth and stone masonry were built against the wall, on the model of the contemporary Norman 'shell-keeps'.¹⁰³ One of them housed a large bread-oven suggestive of the presence of a garrison, unless it was an early example of a *signorial banal* oven. In Latin, the *praitôrion* was dubbed a *castellum*, as Malaterra did for Stilo and as was sometimes the case for the ancient *palatium* in Bari, mentioned as late as 1002–1003. Its defences were strengthened in 1011,¹⁰⁴ the circuit wall (*astu*) then being reconstructed in brick, with a fortified gate (*propulon*). Four churches were enclosed, along with an administrative residence for one leading member of the urban elite. It seems to have been a sense of the increasing unreliability of the population which lays behind this hardening of the *castellum* defences. This symbolized a

⁹⁹ Reggio: Vita S. *Eliae Spelaetotae*, 870 A; Bari: Martin, *La Pouille*, 265.

¹⁰⁰ G. Noyé, 'Les recherches archéologiques de l'École française de Rome sur la Calabre médiévale', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (novembre–décembre 1997), 1069–1100, at 1096–8.

¹⁰¹ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.44.52: it is to be distinguished from the castle built by the Normans on the mountain overlooking the city.

¹⁰² G. Noyé, 'L'espressione architettonica del potere: *praetoria* bizantini e *palatia* longobardi nell'Italia meridionale', in A. Peters-Custot, J.-M. Martin, and V. Prigent, eds, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, III *Les institutions publiques*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 461 (2014), 389–451.

¹⁰³ One similar example has been excavated in Andonne (Limousin).

¹⁰⁴ *Lavoravit castello domnico* (*Anonymi Barenensis Chronicon*, ad ann. 1011); *Ipsae intravit castellum Bari, ubi sedes est nunc Graecorum magnatum* (*Annales Barenenses*, ad ann. 1013, 15); Noyé, 'L'espressione architettonica del potere', 421; Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, doc. 24: *sigillum graecum* for the church of St Basil *in curte pretorii publici*.

less consensual and more autocratic mode of provincial government, which culminated in the appearance of the motte castle in the Norman period. But the *praitôrion* was also possibly used as a strategic base for members of the urban elite in charge of the local government, who resided inside.¹⁰⁵

The written sources often provide no more than a *terminus ante quem* for the birth of the cities, when they mention them, frequently in the form of a reference to an episcopal see. Urban *kastra*, though, were not all creations *ex nihilo*. Many were developed in stages: Vaccarizza, named in the second decade of the eleventh century, was in fact, according to archaeological data, created in the first half of the previous century, if not earlier, by the gradual gathering together of pastoralists on a high site.¹⁰⁶ New cities could also be simple refoundations of these older settlements, operations carried out by the public authorities, as for Civitate and Troia according to the latter's *engraphon*. They acquired an urban character once they were given fortifications and became administrative centres, whether or not a bishop was installed. Written sources enable us to follow this process in Conversano from the beginning of the tenth century to the Norman period.¹⁰⁷ The same is true of Oppido in Calabria: it was a refoundation of Hagia-Agathè after its removal to a new site nearby in the eleventh century.¹⁰⁸

Intervention by the authorities is suggested by the obvious cost of some projects and by the sophisticated design of some of the new defences, implying, as it does, the intervention of specialized military architects, who may have been dispatched from the centre of the Empire. The geographical distribution of fortified places, so as to form well-designed strategic networks, is another sign of government direction and planning. Finally the establishment of a bishopric in a new *kastron* points to the involvement of the authorities, since they habitually coupled administrative and religious centres, as in the cases of Minervino and Montemilone (Apulia) in the tenth century,¹⁰⁹ Dragonara in the eleventh, and Merkourion, the administrative centre of the homonymous eparchy in Calabria.¹¹⁰

The need for safe places of refuge loomed large in the collective consciousness of Calabria and Sicily from the seventh century as it did elsewhere around the Mediterranean basin. The concern for security grew in the era of Arab sea-raiding. The early refuges comprised one or more large hilltop enclosures,

¹⁰⁵ About Bari: Martin, *La Pouille*, 705–6. See *infra*.

¹⁰⁶ Its 'foundation' was arbitrarily assigned to Nikephoros II (Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 205).

¹⁰⁷ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 525.

¹⁰⁸ A. Guillou, *La théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile 3 (Città del Vaticano, 1972), docs 12 and 21.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 204–5.

¹¹⁰ *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae*, 14, c. 7; Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso*, doc. 3.

built on rocky headlands with steep slopes as, for example, at Tiriolo, where the main enclosure sheltered a cistern and barracks for a garrison at the tip of the spur. Such fortified sites filled gaps in the loose urban network of the interior, controlling the territory, the main roads, and the Lombard border. In mining zones they housed workshops for iron and precious metals.¹¹¹

Such refuges multiplied in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the ancient ones being restructured and others built when rural populations were fleeing from the Ottonians as well as the Arabs,¹¹² either to neighbouring *kastra*¹¹³ or, *faute de mieux*, to the mountains.¹¹⁴ Old walls, which were often rudimentary, were restored, and new walls were erected, to improve the standard of defence. The refuge was now protected by a high and powerful curtain wall, flanked with towers designed primarily to command the main gate.¹¹⁵ Citadels resembling urban *praitōria* were built at the highest points: they survive at Tiriolo and Pian della Tirena/Temesa, but could be transformed into castles, as at Sant'Aniceto, in the Norman period or later.¹¹⁶ There can be little doubt about the involvement of the state in such projects, given their high cost and their strategic function. Accommodation, in the form of simple ad hoc structures, and grain stores were built to house and provision refugees, if they were forced to stay for long stretches of time, like the monks and lay communities who are reported to have done so in hagiographical texts. There are still traces of masonry at some sites, while others eventually became substantial settlements, like Tiriolo where a large basilical church was constructed at the beginning of the eleventh century. These *kastra* or *kastellia* were real cultural melting pots,¹¹⁷ as well as places of exchange for the grain-growing plains and stockraising mountains.

¹¹¹ G. Noyé, C. Raimondo, and A. Ruga, 'Les enceintes et l'église du Monte Tiriolo en Calabre', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 110 (1998), 431–47; Noyé, 'Les recherches archéologiques de l'École française de Rome', 1095–6.

¹¹² *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, 340, c.3. ¹¹³ *Bios Neilou*, 76, c. 29.

¹¹⁴ *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae*, 88 sq, c.16.

¹¹⁵ Sant'Aniceto: survey by École française de Rome 1990; G. Noyé, 'Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina (IV–XI secolo)', in A. Placanica, ed., *Storia della Calabria medievale*, I, *I quadri generali* (Rome, 2001), 577–655, at 639–41.

¹¹⁶ A. Coscarella, *Archeologia a San Niceto. Aspetti di vita quotidiana nella fortezza tra XII e XV secolo*, I, *Documenti di archeologia* 33 (Mantua, 2004); the Byzantine phases have not yet been excavated.

¹¹⁷ See *supra* the Hellenization carried by monks.

STRATEGY OF DEFENCE IN CALABRIA

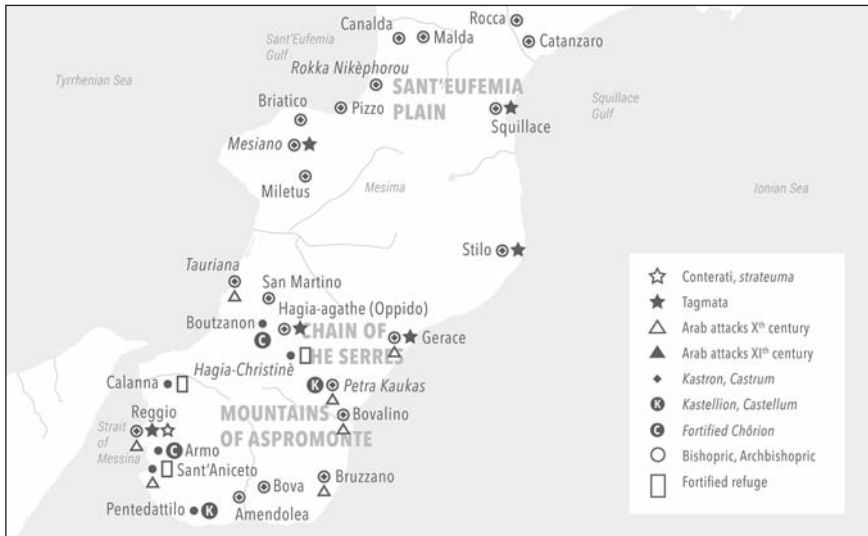


Figure 7.1 Southern Calabria

In Calabria, the Byzantine authorities were pursuing three objectives: (1) to secure maritime links with the east Mediterranean, (2) to prevent the Arabs from using Reggio as a base on the Italian mainland, from which they would be able to raid north with relative impunity, and (3) to defend the province's mines and metal-working facilities. To guarantee communications with the Adriatic and the Middle East, units from the *tagmata* and the thematic army were stationed in all the *kastra* of the east coast, namely Rossano,¹¹⁸ Crotone,¹¹⁹ Stilo, and Gerace, where the *praesopus* was able to assemble an army in 1058.¹²⁰

A chain of fortresses on high ground a little inland surrounded the tip of Calabria at regular intervals. This southern *limes* ran west from the hinterland of Reggio, where the large refuge enclosures of Calanna¹²¹ and Rocca Sant'Aniceto¹²² looked out over the Strait of Messina and the Sicilian coast, until

¹¹⁸ *Bios Neilou*, 90–1, cc. 46–8, 94, c. 51 and 96, c. 54.

¹¹⁹ *Supra* n. 77.

¹²⁰ *Supra* n. 79; *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.32.22.

¹²¹ Noyé, 'Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina', 640 and n. 512; R. Agostino, M. Corrado, and F. Martorano, 'Calanna: un sito medievale dell'area dello stretto', *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale* (Salerno, 2003), 474–80.

¹²² It is probably the *Ἄγιος Νίκων* taken by the Saracens in 978–9 (*Cambridge Chronicle*, 339, c. 60); *supra* n. 115.



Figure 7.2 Northern Calabria

Gerace on the Ionian coast. They were also guarding the valuable mineral resources and the metallurgical activity, well documented on the east side of the Serre mountain range: Benzo of Alba mentioned the fine gold (*obrizium Calabriae*) and the silver of Calabria in the eleventh century, the latter obtained by melting polymetallic ores in a multi-stage extraction process;¹²³ in fact a furnace was working around 1050 in the *idiarion* of Hagios-Petros of the Saltoi, near Stilo.¹²⁴ These resources explain the recurrent Arab attacks against

¹²³ Benzo von Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*, ed. H. Seyffert, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 65 (Hanover, 1996), 268 and 638: *sit argentum de fornace divitis Calabriae*.

¹²⁴ Guillou, *Le brébion*, 22 and 165.

Bovalino and especially Gerace.¹²⁵ Indeed the silver mines in Longobucco were also still used,¹²⁶ but protected from raids in the northern foothills of the Sila.

There was great diversity in the fortified sites constituting this southern *limes*. Besides classical *kastra* such as Amendolea, Bruzzano, and Bovalino,¹²⁷ eagle's nests were built at little cost on the sides of mountain peaks with vertical walls, the prototypes, in the ninth century, being the *chorion* of Armo—its rocky setting, on the southern point of Calabria, was in itself a form of protection, notable enough to be mentioned by a hagiographer.¹²⁸ A fortress on a high point could dominate an open settlement established on a lower platform, the relationship being like that of a Western castle with a neighbouring village: Petra Kaukas¹²⁹ and Pentedattilo¹³⁰ were the best examples of this topographical layout. A good description of this is provided by the Life of Saint Luke of Armento who, in the last third of the tenth century, was looking for a place in Lucania with natural defences imposing enough to be fortified without too much additional work, where he might install his community of monks. Named Armento after the word meaning *rupes* in the Calabrian dialect (*armos*), this *castellum* included a fortified monastery that was also available to neighbouring communities, and a fortified refuge (*munitio*) for the rural population.¹³¹ The nearby *oppidum* of Noa, the Saint's first foundation, was of the same type, if it was indeed the Noepoli site. This ingenious model was most likely used by the Arabs, still in Lucania, on Pietra-Pertosa's mountain and by the Byzantine authorities at Bova *kastron* to the east of the southern *limes* of Calabria.¹³²

A second *limes* followed the strategic road that crossed Calabria from west to east, from the Poro mountains to the Isthmus of Catanzaro, a natural limit that often constituted a political border and was protected by the former stronghold of Nicastro.¹³³ Here too were valuable mineral resources: chalcoppyrite deposits aroused the interest of the Arabs, who launched several expeditions and, for partly commercial reasons, of Byzantium which reinforced the protection of the iron-working sites of Temesa, Tiriolo, and Squillace.¹³⁴

¹²⁵ *Supra* n. 34. ¹²⁶ AASS, May VII, 113 for the twelfth century.

¹²⁷ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 337, c. 45 and 340, c. 62; *Vita di S. Luca*, 187 and 210.

¹²⁸ *Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, 855 C.

¹²⁹ Modern Pietra Castello west of Bovalino, taken by the Saracens in 952–953: *Cambridge Chronicle* (Arab), 105; *Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, 861 C.

¹³⁰ *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, 53, c. 35.

¹³¹ *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, 340, cc. 3, 8, and 9.

¹³² Episcopal see at the beginning of the eleventh century: Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, X, 49; for Petra-Pertosa, Guillou and Holtzmann, 'Zwei Katepansurkunden aus Tricarico', 10–11.

¹³³ Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, notitia 7, 283.

¹³⁴ D. Pinto, 'Appendice 2. I giacimenti di minerali di ferro della Calabria', in G. Bertelli and D. Roubis, eds, *Torre di Mare, I Ricerche archeologiche nell'insediamento medievale di Metaponto (1995–1999)* (Bari, 2002), 295–8; F. Cuteri, 'Risorse minerarie ed attività metallurgica nella Sila Piccola meridionale e nella Pre-Sila del versante tirrenico. Prime osservazioni', in G. De Sensi Sestito, ed., *Tra l'Amato e il Savuto*, II, *Studi sul Lametino antico e tardo-antico* (Soveria Mannelli, 1999), 293–317.

The isthmus was also lined by Taverna and, in the eleventh century, Martirano on the southern slopes of the Sila massif, and Maida and Canalda¹³⁵ on the opposite side of the valley. The construction of Catanzaro and of the nearby Rocca¹³⁶ was probably undertaken to protect the opening of this mineral production on the Ionian Sea. On the road that ran south-west around the Gulf of S. Eufemia and the Poro mountains, *kastra*, almost certainly built by the state, appeared in the tenth century—such as Mesiano which was defended by *tagmata*,¹³⁷ Pizzo,¹³⁸ and Rokka Nikephorou,¹³⁹ followed by the powerful fortresses of Mileto¹⁴⁰ and Briatico¹⁴¹ in the eleventh century. This litany of sites is intended to demonstrate both the importance of public investment and its success. That the *kastra* flourished in these fertile regions is also to be explained by the explosive growth of the agricultural economy in the eleventh century as a result of the renewed peace.

The results of this Byzantine policy of investment in military infrastructure were indeed striking. From 976, the *strategos* had enough confidence in his armed forces to attempt an improvised attack against Messina, which was not followed by significant reprisals.¹⁴² Apart from an expedition in 986,¹⁴³ Calabria was thenceforth spared, and the momentum of the Arab attack stopped. A Sicilian fleet was defeated in 1005 by the Pisans¹⁴⁴ and within a few years, once the Bulgars had been finally subjected to Byzantine authority, Basil II turned his attention to Sicily, making clear his determination to seize the initiative. In the last year of his reign (1025), he dispatched a large expeditionary force, led by the *koitonites* Orestes, who landed on the island, accompanied by the Catepan Boiôannes and his *Barenses*.¹⁴⁵ It ended in failure as did the following attempt of the same Orestes, who was defeated

¹³⁵ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.17 and 18.18, and ii.21.36.

¹³⁶ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, iv.9.90.

¹³⁷ *Bios Neilou*, 99, c. 57; this *castrum* remained important in the Norman period (*De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.28.39).

¹³⁸ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 339, c. 57 (in 976).

¹³⁹ Rokka Nikephorou is the Norman *castrum quod Nicefola dicitur* and the Angevine Rocca Angitola, currently designated Rocca Diruta at the south-west end of the Catanzaro Isthmus (*De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.20.19 and 29.22; G. Noyé et al., 'Scavi medievali in Calabria, B: castello di Squillace. Rapporto preliminare', *Archeologia Medievale* 20 (1993), 503–20, at 505; EFR survey 1994; Noyé, 'La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands', 107–8).

¹⁴⁰ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.23.37.

¹⁴¹ *Vita di S. Luca vescovo di Isola capo Rizzuto*, ed. and trans. G. Schirò, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini, *Testi e Monumenti*, 2 (Palermo, 1954), 499.

¹⁴² On his own initiative as only Ibn al-Atir mentions this fact: M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Torino, 1880), 431.

¹⁴³ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 339, cc. 57–8 and 340, c. 62; Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.*, 88.

¹⁴⁴ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 63–5 and n. 107.

¹⁴⁵ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1025 and 1029, 149 (the *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon* confuses the dates 1025 and 1029).

in Reggio in 1028–9.¹⁴⁶ But, even if it led to a reprisal attack on Oria in 1029,¹⁴⁷ this second victory of the Arabs cost them so much that they were forced to withdraw to Sicily.¹⁴⁸

For Calabria, the recovery thus began at least half a century earlier than has been assumed.¹⁴⁹ It is impossible otherwise to explain the clear evidence, provided both by archaeology and the *brebion* of Reggio (dating from the middle of the eleventh century), of real economic prosperity, with the rapid development of mulberry and vine cultivation for commercial purposes, and a very dense rural habitat. Furthermore, mining and metal-working sites seem to have multiplied, as is indicated by a 1094 donation by Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily of several mines for tin, iron, and other metals near Stilo and Gerace.¹⁵⁰ A rural *praitôrion* south-west of Stilo¹⁵¹ was probably guarding the district's small mining establishments, and acting as collection point for the taxes owed to the state. The organization of mining and smelting was most probably simplified and left in the hands of landowners, the iron being produced by dependent peasants on some *proasteia* (estates). The various processes involved in metal-working were probably carried out immediately after the extraction of the ore, as is suggested by the mention of a working furnace in the *idiarion* of Hagios-Petros of Saltò.¹⁵²

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND DEFENCE IN APULIA AND LUCANIA

Demographic and economic growth continued in Apulia through the tenth century.¹⁵³ Cities grew up close to one another in the central sector of the coast and in its hinterland, and clearly were not all state projects. Local notables are equally likely to have been involved in the development of major ports—e.g. Molfetta and Giovanizzo to the north of Bari—through which cash crops,

¹⁴⁶ He was accompanied by the new Catepan of Italy and Calabria Cristoforos: G. Cozza-Luzzi, *La cronaca siculo-saracena di Cambridge* (Palermo, 1890), 86.

¹⁴⁷ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 986, 126.

¹⁴⁸ *Annales Baresnes*, *ad ann.* 1027, 17; Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1028, 123.

¹⁴⁹ Contra Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 65 (1030s).

¹⁵⁰ *Regii Neapoletani archivi monumenta*, V (Naples, 1857), 210, n. 480.

¹⁵¹ In that case, seat of a *praitor* (Guillou, *Le brébion*, 179–80 and 194).

¹⁵² Guillou, *Le brébion*, 22 and 165; in 1094 the territory of Stilo was full of mines *de aeris* and iron mines (*Regii Neapoletani archivi monumenta*, V, 208–11, n. 480).

¹⁵³ The province had been affected by Muslim and Slav raids, but marginally and mainly early in the century; settlements had multiplied in Salento, and were already well fortified: see most recently P. Arthur, 'Per una carta archeologica della Puglia altomedievale: questioni di formulazione ed interpretazione', *20° Congresso internazionale di studio sull'Alto medioevo: Bizantini, Longobardi ed Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo (Savelletri di Fasano [BR], 3–6 novembre 2011)* (Spoleto, 2012); Noyé, 'Puglia e Calabria dall'888 agli anni 960'.



Figure 7.3 Apulia

mostly olive oil from central Apulia, now given over to monoculture,¹⁵⁴ could be exported especially to Constantinople. The trade with Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean¹⁵⁵ was stimulated by the Byzantine conquest; from the end of the tenth century, this commerce was in the hands of Lombard merchants from Bari as well as Venetians. The city indeed became the epicentre of maritime traffic, where the *kommerkiarioi Longibardias* (customs officials) and the *parathalassitai* in charge of the port resided.¹⁵⁶

These developments were encouraged by the Byzantine authorities for strategic as well as fiscal reasons—so as to reinforce connections with the Balkans and to secure control over the Adriatic by joining forces with those of the opposite maritime theme of Cephalaria.¹⁵⁷ They installed in Bari, Monopoli, and Polignano in the south, and finally in Taranto, *tagmata* armed to fight the Arabs but which also played an economic role. Thus the inflow of Byzantine coins, especially *folles*, into Longobardia,¹⁵⁸ can be explained as much by trade—in my opinion underestimated until now—as by government

¹⁵⁴ Martin, *La Pouille*, 356–63.

¹⁵⁵ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, ad ann. 1045, 1051, and 1062.

¹⁵⁶ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 141–3.

¹⁵⁷ Created in the first half of the ninth century to protect the *via Egnatia*.

¹⁵⁸ See for example the Taranto harbour hoard: Martin, *La Pouille*, 447–54; *idem*, 'L'économie du thème de Longobardie', 317–19.



Figure 7.4 Lucania

transfers of cash for the payment of troops and of salaries (*rogai*) linked to titles.¹⁵⁹ Fortunes were made, thereby enabling successful families, who owned ships and the wherewithal to arm themselves, to lead rebellions from the year 979.

South in the Lucanian margins, the only urban *kastra* which may have been founded from scratch by Byzantium in the tenth century—Tolve, Gravina, and Tricarico, the latter two attached to the new metropolis of Otranto in 968¹⁶⁰—were grouped together with some older centres on the course of the Bradano and Basento rivers. Beyond lay eastern Lucania, which was considered a safe refuge in the tenth century and thus was settled largely when people were driven from the south by the Arabs. Apart from a few isolated towns, such as Tursi, another suffragan see of Otranto which was certainly a focal point of population, most new fortified settlements of varying dimensions are attested in saints' lives dating from the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh, at which point the cartulary of the monastery of Carbone, east of San Chirico Raparo, takes over. They are designated as *kastellia* and

¹⁵⁹ *Roga*: Peters-Custot, 'Titulatures byzantines en Apulie et en Calabre'.

¹⁶⁰ *Legatio*, in Liutprand de Crémone, 416, c. 62.

castella, terms that are only rarely interchangeable with *kastra*.¹⁶¹ Some, such as the *kastellion* of Palagiano¹⁶² or the *castellum* of Massafra,¹⁶³ grew in size and were able to shelter a large population, but others were ephemeral products of circumstance which did not survive.¹⁶⁴

While a number of those fortified villages were probably spontaneous gatherings of population, monastic and private initiative played a large part in the foundation of others. Thus the complete Hellenization of this region subjected so long to Lombard influence probably occurred away from all official urban foundations. The arrival of monks seems to have inaugurated a land settlement programme: being experts at making limestone mortar,¹⁶⁵ they built monasteries which developed into population centres across the eparchy of Latinianon,¹⁶⁶ from the Gulf of Taranto to the northwest, and from Noa and Cersosimo to Turri and Armento. Concrete evidence comes in the form of the architectural project of Armento *castellum*, in what is documented (in 1007) as a yet well-populated area. The hagiographical topos of the laity who joined holy men in their remote, solitary places points to the frequency of the phenomenon.

A large number of private *kastellia* were also fortified by the local elite in response to the Arab threat.¹⁶⁷ They were often perched on rocky peaks like the *exôkastellion* of Petra tou Typhlou which was built on a family property and served as a refuge for the neighbouring inhabitants; it was given to the abbot of St Anania by a monk and his *tourmarch* son in 1015, for the building of a church;¹⁶⁸ thus a fortified village was created, near the Ourtzoulon *kastron* (also attested in 1015).¹⁶⁹ Rich families can be seen to have used the refuges to bring nearby populations under their control and to have attracted people to their lands in order to create a *chorion*,¹⁷⁰ probably assuming legal rights over them. On the other hand Byzantios, the judge of

¹⁶¹ Some exceptions, as for Minervino in Apulia (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 147).

¹⁶² See the tax figures (Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 16).

¹⁶³ In 970 (Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 205–6).

¹⁶⁴ *Λ' ἐρημοκαστέλλιον Κερβάνον* (Guillou and Holtzmann, 'Zwei Katepansurkunden aus Tricarico', 18–19).

¹⁶⁵ *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, 341, c. 3, 13.

¹⁶⁶ Robinson, 'History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone', doc. 54, ll. 25–6 (1027).

¹⁶⁷ A *kastellion* was given by the father of a *spatharokandidatos* to the monk Gerasimos (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 146–7).

¹⁶⁸ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 15. It is the site of Murgie di Santa Caterina, which was located near the coast south of the gulf of Taranto.

¹⁶⁹ Oriolo: *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis*, I-8, ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani, and S. De Stephano (Naples–Milan, 1873–93), repr. (Badia di Cava, 1981), doc. 684.

¹⁷⁰ See for example the creation of a *chorion* by the abbot of the Theotokos of the Refuge in 998 (Guillou and Holtzmann, 'Zwei Katepansurkunden aus Tricarico', 20–8).

Bari, received a whole pre-existing village (subject to Lombard law) by grant from the catepan in 1045.¹⁷¹

The strengthening of Byzantine defences in Calabria shifted the theatre of military operations north at the end of the tenth century. The principal targets of Arab raids were now Apulia and Lucania, the key region separating the Catepanate from the theme of Calabria. The Muslims landed at Taranto,¹⁷² and then launched forays to settlements prosperous enough to resupply them above all with slaves, namely the *vici* of Bari's hinterland,¹⁷³ but also Bitonto nearby, Oria to the east, and, on the west, Gravina and Matera.¹⁷⁴ The geographical pattern of their raids was determined by the powerful fortified places established in the Catepanate which could put up effective resistance. Emboldened by their success, they assaulted Bari which, notwithstanding the loss of troops in battle near Taranto in 991,¹⁷⁵ survived two sieges, the first in 997, and the second thanks to the intervention of the Venetian navy in 1002.¹⁷⁶ It took three months of blockade and starvation before Matera could be stormed. Arab bands were then able to secure positions in the heart of the Basilicata mountains, one establishing itself near the Armento *castellum*. Another, led by a Christian renegade, the *caytus* Luca Kaphiros, withdrew to the vertiginous *kastellion* of Petra-Pertousa to the southwest of Tricarico,¹⁷⁷ from where he went off to besiege Bari in 1002. The Crati Valley, where Cosenza was taken in 1009 and Bisignano in 1020,¹⁷⁸ was thus hit once again.

After an intermission following the death of Nikephoros II Phokas in 969,¹⁷⁹ a second phase of investment in military infrastructure began, centred on these northern regions. *Tagma* units were established in most of the cities recently attacked, such as Bari, Polignano, Oria, and Taranto. The Gulf of Taranto was lined with fortifications from north to south—the *castellum* of Mottola, built by Catepan Basil Boiôannes on a hill commanding the *castellum*

¹⁷¹ *Supra* n. 71.

¹⁷² Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 972, 77 and *ad ann.* 991, 93; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 991, 148.

¹⁷³ The fact is twice underlined by Lupus Protospatharius (*ad ann.* 977, 81 and *ad ann.* 988, 90).

¹⁷⁴ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 975, 79 (Bitonto), *ad ann.* 977, 81 (Oria burnt down), *ad ann.* 999, 99 (Gravina), and *ad ann.* 994, 96 (Matera); *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 994 (Matera), *ad ann.* 997 (Oria), and *ad ann.* 998 (Gravina), 148.

¹⁷⁵ *Supra* n. 172.

¹⁷⁶ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.*, 997, 98 and *ad ann.* 1002, 101; *Annales Barenses*, *ad ann.* 1003, 13; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1002, 148; for the Venetian intervention's date: Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 53, n. 10.

¹⁷⁷ The castle is built around the base of a rocky peak: see the description *supra* and n. 131.

¹⁷⁸ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1009, 107 and *ad ann.* 1020, 115.

¹⁷⁹ First because of increased military activities on the northern and eastern margins of the Empire (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 52), then because of internal problems which followed the accession of Basil II.

of Palagiano, after it had been taken by the Saracens for the second time,¹⁸⁰ the *castellum Sanctae Trinitatis*,¹⁸¹ and Pietra Roseti.¹⁸² The routes leading to the interior were also protected by the strongholds of Appium and Acena¹⁸³ at the outlet of the Basento valley, and by the fortified settlements of Montepeloso and Monte Serico, on the upper course of the Bradano river.¹⁸⁴ These fortresses were defended by small garrisons, on the model of Acena where there was a *tourmarch* who was also a *komes*.¹⁸⁵

The creation of the theme of Lucania towards the end of the tenth century was a strategic response to the new form of the Arab threat, at the same time sanctioning the demographic development of the region.¹⁸⁶ Its territory was delimited to the north by the Basento and to the south by the Lao river. Cassano was probably the capital, in a secure position on a height surrounded on all sides by steep rock faces. The episcopal see which was established there in the second half of the tenth century, appears in eleventh-century lists of bishoprics,¹⁸⁷ and was the northernmost suffragan of the Reggio metropolis.¹⁸⁸ The *kastron* commanded the plain of Sibari and the route around the Gulf of Taranto and was thus the only one capable of guaranteeing the land route between the two blocks of Byzantine possessions, which was in danger of being cut by Arabs from the north and by the Principality of Salerno from the west. Cassano held out against Otto II when he came down from Apulia in 968¹⁸⁹ and became a pivotal point in the fight against the Arabs, whom the Byzantines still could not contain. It was burned down in 1014¹⁹⁰ and captured in 1031,¹⁹¹ the latter event forcing the Catepan Pothos Argyros to head southwards in order to defend access to Apulia.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁰ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1023, 118 ([*Rayca cum Saffari Criti*] *comprehenderunt Palagianum oppidum et fabricatum est castellum Motula*); *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1023, 149.

¹⁸¹ The harbour was fortified by the Byzantines in the sixth century, at the mouth of the Basento river; the *castellum*, of which a tower was rebuilt at the beginning of the eleventh century (excavation by EFR/Archaeological Superintendence of Basilicata, 1977–78), is mentioned in 1121: *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *RIS* 2, VII.1 (Bologna, 1935), 211.

¹⁸² *Vita sancti Vitalis*, 28: Roseto Capo Spulico on the Ionian Sea.

¹⁸³ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 204–5.

¹⁸⁴ *Annales Barenses*, *ad ann.* 1011, 14 and *ad ann.* 1042, 24 (*ex castello Siricolo*).

¹⁸⁵ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 211–12. ¹⁸⁶ *Supra*, n. 7.

¹⁸⁷ *Vita Gregorii abbatis prior*, *MGH*, SS, XV.2, 1187–90, at 1187.

¹⁸⁸ Caspar, 'Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien', 26.

¹⁸⁹ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 339, c. 56; Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 969, 75; *Vita S. Lucae abbatis*, 340, c. 3; U. Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum. A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language*, Studia Latina Stockholmensia 3 (Stockholm–Lund, 1956), c. 170.

¹⁹⁰ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1014, 109. ¹⁹¹ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 340, c. 64.

¹⁹² *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1029, 149; Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1031, 129.

A new fortification programme was instituted by the *strategos* Basil Boiôannes, catepan from 1017 to 1028, and was continued by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus.¹⁹³ Boiôannes managed to pacify Apulia temporarily,¹⁹⁴ and took the opportunity to develop a *limes* on the northern frontier, which was under Lombard threat in Capitanata, thus barring the point of entry for the Franks and Germans. This project marked the apogee of Byzantine military science in Italy. The fortified towns (Troia, Dragonara, Fiorentino, Civitate, Tertiveri, Montecorvino), arranged in a zig-zag pattern on two parallel lines, controlled the whole area between the Apennines and the Gargano, and could communicate via optical signals.¹⁹⁵ He also designated Siponto a diocese, in order to take it away from Benevento.¹⁹⁶ The *limes* proved its effectiveness in 1022 when Troia resisted Henry II's siege.¹⁹⁷

There were thus three large-scale campaigns of fortress-building in all the Byzantine provinces of southern Italy between the end of Nikephoros Phokas' reign and the middle third of the eleventh century, and a large-scale reorganization of the armed forces. The state, however, was not an all-powerful demiurge: the increasing number of central troops stationed in the three provinces did not cement loyalty—central army units were poorly received and local recruits were unreliable. Finally the colonization and protection of Lucania were mostly the work of monks and aristocrats.

LATE TENTH- AND ELEVENTH-CENTURY TROUBLES

Byzantium thus imposed its authority effectively on Apulia from the 980s,¹⁹⁸ but without securing real commitment to the Empire from the population. Civil disorder started up once more and continued almost uninterrupted until the Norman Conquest. The Arabs may not have had the strength to conquer the region but, as the chronology of events showed, it was the cadence of their raids which stirred up a hornet's nest in the Catepanate. A second factor

¹⁹³ See *supra* the foundation of Catanzaro.

¹⁹⁴ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1019, 114; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann.* 1018, 148; *Annales Barenses, ad ann.* 1021, 16.

¹⁹⁵ Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. and trans. M. Mathieu, Istituto siciliano di Studi bizantini e neellenici, *Testi e Monumenti: Testi*, 4 (Palermo, 1961), i. 246–9; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *RIS*² VII. 1 (Bologna, 1935), 174 sq; Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 57 and 149.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 57: thus north of the Catepanate, only the episcopal sees of Ascoli, Bovino, and Lucera remained subjected to him.

¹⁹⁷ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1022, 117.

¹⁹⁸ This aspect has already been amply treated by Jean-Marie Martin (*La Pouille and particularly Les thèmes italiens*) and by Vera von Falkenhausen (*La dominazione bizantina*).

promoting disorder was the pro-Ottonian party. Society gave every appearance of being divided and agitated.

Already in 979, the *protospatharios* Porfirus assassinated Bishop Andrea of Oria,¹⁹⁹ two years after the burning of the city and the deportation of its inhabitants by the Arabs. Trouble also broke out in Bari, where the pro-Byzantine party, led by the brothers Serge and Theophylact,²⁰⁰ prevailed and was able to hand back the city to the Catepan, Calocyra Delfinas, in 982. Soon, however, the *prôtospatharios* Serge—probably the same leading pro-Byzantine figure—was killed by the inhabitants in 987;²⁰¹ so too was a man named *Andralistus* at the hands of Nicholas Criti.²⁰² Consequently Porfirus and Criti²⁰³ were executed by the Catepan John Ammiropoulos upon his arrival in 989, as well as the *hikatanos* Leon.²⁰⁴ The assassination of the *excubitor* Peter was reported the following year, without any further information.²⁰⁵ After a brief interlude, the *eques* Smaragdus murdered in Oria, with the help of his brother Peter, the *excubitor* Mark Theodore,²⁰⁶ an important figure who had been in charge during the vacancy between catepans.²⁰⁷ The following year, he forced Bari's western gate, but without delivering up the city as agreed to the *caytus* Busitus encamped under the walls.²⁰⁸ From his arrival in 999, the new Catepan Gregory Tarchaneiotos had to lay siege to Gravina, where he captured Theophylact, who presumably had taken refuge there. In 1000, he managed to capture Smaragdus.²⁰⁹ We see from these events that the allegiance of the *conterati*, who were to revolt later (in 1040–1), was already in doubt and that *tagma* officers, when they took root locally, could easily betray the Empire.

Many urban centres seem to have been divided in this way into two factions, one pro-Byzantine (to which Andrea, Serge, and Andralistus belonged), the other turning against Byzantium out of exasperation at Arab depredations. The anti-Byzantine faction sometimes took control of a city as probably happened at Oria, Gravina, and Bari. Both parties were fond of dignities—which were not necessarily enough to buy their loyalty. Once a catepan took up his post, he would punish the rebels who had taken advantage of an interregnum, but all too soon he would have to divide his

¹⁹⁹ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 979, 83.

²⁰⁰ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 982, 85.

²⁰¹ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 987, 89; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 987.

²⁰² *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 987.

²⁰³ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 989, 91; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 989.

²⁰⁴ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 17; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 989; Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 87 and doc. 24.

²⁰⁵ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 990.

²⁰⁶ On these murders: Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.*, 990, 92, and 997, 97; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 997.

²⁰⁷ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 214–15. ²⁰⁸ *Annales Barenses*, *ad ann.* 998, 14.

²⁰⁹ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 998, 98, *ad ann.* 999, 99, and *ad ann.* 1000, 100.

attention between two threats, having to cope simultaneously with the insurgents and with an external enemy which was in theory also the latter's enemy.²¹⁰

That latent civil war broke out into the open with Meles' revolts,²¹¹ which are usually associated with the arrival of the Normans in the region. But in reality the new conquerors only gradually replaced Lombards alongside the indigenous dissidents and Meles's first revolt in 1009 was simply a significant stage in this process while it marked otherwise a qualitative and quantitative leap in regional dissidence. Like the other Apulian magnates whose names appear throughout the chronicles, he and other members of his family (including his step-brother Datto) were veritable war leaders,²¹² rich enough at this point to hire Frankish mercenaries. Their power, of which the Byzantine authorities quickly took the measure, rested on social prestige in the Bari region. Concrete evidence comes in the way Basil Boiôannes humiliated Datto (or Dacto) in 1021, to discredit him in the eyes of Bari's citizens.²¹³ Datto's potential as trouble-maker was such that the catepan went all the way to the Gargano to seek him out.²¹⁴

The dissidents' cause in 1009 was aided by a shortage of necessities brought on by a particularly harsh winter. Meles was able to raise up the Catepanate's population, in what the local chronicles termed for the first time a rebellion of Longobardia,²¹⁵ while the metropolitan historian Ioannes Skylitzes, writing a generation later, included a full description in his historical compendium.²¹⁶ The hard core of the rebel movement comprised the wealthy towns of the Adriatic: Bari, which provided Meles with troops,²¹⁷ and Bitonto, where a violent battle was fought against the Catepan John Kurkuas. In Trani, the rebels met some resistance from a man named Sellitus or Sellictus, probably the military leader of the city, entrenched in a tower—maybe that of the *praetorium*—with a handful of followers, but they were burned to death by the city's inhabitants.²¹⁸ He belonged to a family of landowners which had presumably grown rich thanks to viticulture²¹⁹ and continued to play a prominent part in local affairs until 1075:²²⁰ of his two

²¹⁰ *Supra* n. 208. ²¹¹ For the debate about his 'nationality': Martin, *La Pouille*, 520.

²¹² Datto built a fortified tower on Garigliano river for the Pope (Martin, *La Pouille*, 520).

²¹³ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1021, 116 (*captus est Dactus et intravit in civitatem Barum equitatus in asina*); *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann.* 1021.

²¹⁴ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, doc. 42.

²¹⁵ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1009, 107; *Annales Barenses, ad ann.* 1011, 14 (*rebellavit Longobardia cum Mele ad ipsum Curcua*).

²¹⁶ Skylitzes, 347–8, 34.

²¹⁷ *Annales Barenses, ad ann.* 1011, 14.

²¹⁸ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann.* 1010 (*Et Sellittus et alii homines incensi sunt ab ipsi Transi in una turre*).

²¹⁹ Viticulture soon became a speciality of Trani's territory: Martin, *La Pouille*, 427.

²²⁰ Martin, *La Pouille*, 764 (but the author does not make the connection).

sons—or grandsons?—one was *tourmarch* and *strategota* of Trani,²²¹ which he successfully defended against the Normans; the other, the *krites* (judge) Falco, honoured with the title of *pantheota*, allocated the goods confiscated from the traitor Maraldus in Trani to Monte Cassino.²²² The rebellion proved hard to suppress. The Catepan John Kurkuas was thwarted, above all because of heavy losses suffered at the hard-fought battle of Montepeloso in 1011.²²³ His successor, Basil Mesardonites, only brought it to an end after laying siege to Bari in 1013.²²⁴ It was then that he transformed the city's *palatium* into a veritable citadel.²²⁵

The grand rebellion of 1017, once again fomented by Meles, who invaded Capitanata with the help of Norman mercenaries,²²⁶ broke out at the arrival of the Catepan Kontoleon Tornikios who lost a battle at Civitate,²²⁷ one month after the defeat of the *excubitor* Leon Patianus at Arenula.²²⁸ A third victory near Vaccarizza allowed Meles to invade Apulia.²²⁹ Once again, the revolt's support came from large cities, notably Bari and Trani where Romuald, probably the rebel leader, was imprisoned when the town was recaptured by the *topoteretes* Ligorius, sent by the Catepan Boiôannes as soon as he arrived in 1018.²³⁰ The *protospatharios* Romuald, Archbishop of Bari in 1035, probably belonged to the same treacherous family, since he was immediately exiled to Constantinople with his brother: his election *ab omni populo* ('by all the people') had been then a clear sign of the anti-imperial sentiment of most of the population, who saw in him the rightful heir of Bisantius. Like the Greek clergy on the other sides, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Latin towns could be the armed wing of the independence movement.

The Saracens resumed their attacks after Boiôannes's departure. It was after fighting them at Bari²³¹ that Pothos Argyros died in Cassano alongside many Greeks.²³² Constantine Opos, who arrived in 1033,²³³ was no less active: he won a victory on Sicily after being asked to intervene by Apolaphar, an ally of Byzantium against the Muslims of Africa, who had been driven from the

²²¹ In 1039 (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 114: the author supposes he is the namesake *στρατηγέτης* of Trani).

²²² Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 20, doc. 19: as an *episkeptites*, he managed crown lands (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 142).

²²³ *Annales Baresnes*, ad ann. 1011, 14.

²²⁴ Lupus Protospatharius, ad ann. 1010, 108; *Annales Baresnes*, ad ann. 1013, 15.

²²⁵ *Supra* nn. 99, 104, and 105.

²²⁶ Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, i.15–94; *Storia de'Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis, FSI 76 (Rome, 1935), i.20–3.

²²⁷ Lupus Protospatharius, ad ann. 1017, 112; *Anonymi Baresnes Chronicon*, ad ann. 1017.

²²⁸ *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ii.37, 239–40 (1017).

²²⁹ *Supra* nn. 86, 102, and 106.

²³⁰ *Anonymi Baresnes Chronicon*, ad ann. 1018; Lupus Protospatharius, ad ann. 1018, 113.

²³¹ Lupus Protospatharius, ad ann. 1029, 127. ²³² *Supra* n. 192.

²³³ Lupus Protospatharius, ad ann. 1033, 131.

island.²³⁴ Finally, George Maniakes, even if he came with a large army in 1042, reinforced it with soldiers from Apulia and Calabria²³⁵ before heading for Sicily.

The local troops inspired a rightful sense of mistrust amongst the Byzantine authorities who tended to use them outside their own districts: Calabrian sailors for instance participated in Bari's defence when besieged by Guiscard, and the soldiers from the Catepanate, especially those of Bari, served on several expeditions outside the peninsula in the space of a few years. The resentment generated may go some way to explaining the 1041–2 revolt of the *conterati*. There was nothing unexpected in this because the situation remained tense in some cities, mostly in Bari, where two murders took place *in curte Domnica* in 1038 and where the looting of several houses, including that of the *hikatanos* John, provoked urban riots.²³⁶

The *conterati* were professional soldiers commanded by members of the local elite, and were closely associated with several large cities, either because they came from them or because they were stationed there. This helps to explain the violence and the scale of their revolts. They spread to Ascoli, where Catepan Nikephoros Dokeianos died fighting them, to Mottola, where a senior official was killed,²³⁷ to Bitonto,²³⁸ and probably to Ostuni.²³⁹ In 1029 Meles's son Argyros, had to take drastic action to secure their dispersal, on his return from exile (and Hellenization) in Constantinople.²⁴⁰ After besieging and capturing Bari, he publicly humiliated the aristocratic leader of the defence, a certain Musando.²⁴¹ He had him enter the city in chains and locked him up with the man who was probably his second-in-command.²⁴² The fact that Argyros obtained in this way the dispersion of the *conterati* demonstrates the extent of the prestige kept by his family.²⁴³

Excessively harsh action, on the other hand, could prove ineffective, as in the case of the new Catepan Michael Dokeianos who, given the deteriorating political and military situation, showed a remarkable lack of finesse in his dealings with local notables on his return from Sicily in 1041: he had his

²³⁴ Scylitzes, 398 and 400–1, trans., 330–2.

²³⁵ *Supra* n. 63; Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 216; his title of *strategos autokrator* allowed him to do so (Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 74).

²³⁶ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1038 and 1039 (execution of *Capozzati* and of his son Judas, who probably was *protospatharius*; the houses belonged to Adralisto and Leo *consobrino ejus*).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, *ad ann.* 1040; Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1040, 135; *Annales Barenses*, 19.

²³⁸ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1041. ²³⁹ Martin, 'Les thèmes italiens', 217.

²⁴⁰ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, *ad ann.* 1029.

²⁴¹ A connection can be established between this unusual name and *Adelbertus filius Musandi*, whose presence in Lucera is known in 1024 and 1053 (Martin and Noyé, 'Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e siècle)', 56, n. 148.

²⁴² *Annales Barenses*, *ad ann.* 1040, 19.

²⁴³ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1040, 136; the *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*'s version is slightly different.

predecessor's murderer²⁴⁴ and four other men hanged on the walls of Bitonto,²⁴⁵ where another four were blinded.

LOCAL NOTABLES AND THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

Local government was characterized by its diversity. The individuals who controlled cities and commanded garrisons held a variety of titles. There were *tourmarchs*, who took over the judicial functions of Longobardia's *gastalds* towards the end of the tenth century. They were recruited from among the *archontes*, and, like *topoteretai* and *excubitors*, were associated more and more closely with specific places, for example Siponto in 973,²⁴⁶ Bari in 1003, 1028 and 1034, Trani in 1039, and Lucera.²⁴⁷ Similarly, the *ek prosopou*, while they sometimes operated at a high level, usually represented locally the *catepan* or *strategos*, as at Bari, Taranto,²⁴⁸ and Gerace.²⁴⁹ In every town, one or two individuals (their title is not always known) were given authority over the rest of the population, as in Bisignano,²⁵⁰ Reggio,²⁵¹ and Bari.²⁵²

However, the citizen body, which was developing an identity of its own in the same period, also had a say: it was involved in some administrative actions in the towns of Polignano and Monopoli,²⁵³ while, in Calabria, the notables, *proceres* or *potentiores urbis* or *cives*, *archontes* or *dynatoi*, formed a sort of council of elders with decision-making powers.²⁵⁴ It was they who agreed to surrender the *kastra* of Bisignano and Gerace to the Normans,²⁵⁵ and who constituted a sort of tribunal at Stilo.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁴ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann. 1041, 149.*

²⁴⁵ *Supra* n. 238.

²⁴⁶ Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 118–19: some *gastalds* were also *iudex* and *kritis*.

²⁴⁷ Noyé, *Aristocratie et rebellions dans l'Italie byzantine des X^e–XI^e siècles.*

²⁴⁸ Noyé, *Aristocratie et rebellions dans l'Italie byzantine des X^e–XI^e siècles.*

²⁴⁹ *Supra* n. 120. ²⁵⁰ Peter of Tyre, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.17.17.

²⁵¹ Peter of Tyre, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.24.23.

²⁵² Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, iii.145 and 172 (*urbis primus habebatur*); see also *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.43.50 (*Principabatur tunc temporibus urbi Barensi sub imperatore graecus quidam, Argeritius nomine qui cum caeteris civibus pro tempore et loco consilio habito*).

²⁵³ Three examples in J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, 705–7.

²⁵⁴ Stilo: A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054–1264)*, *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile* 5 (Città del Vaticano, 1980), doc. 3; *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.44.52 and Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 56, in 1093; Rossano (*De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, iv.22.100); Reggio (Guillou, *Le brébion*, 197).

²⁵⁵ Bisignano: *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.17.18 (*sed, civibus non assientibus, [Petrus] castrum minime reddere potuit*); Gerace: *ibid.*, ii.26.38.

²⁵⁶ Trinchera, *Syllabus*, doc. 44 (in 1059).

Local elites, including veritable dynasties from which civil and military officials, as well as high and intermediate clergy, were recruited, therefore asserted themselves in the eleventh century. Their importance stemmed not so much from landed property, divided up every generation under the system of partitive inheritance,²⁵⁷ as from their judicial and military functions and from wealth gained principally from trade. It was this power which ensured their control of localities, chiefly cities, even though some notables lived in the country. Thus, towards the middle of the century, seven families resident in Oppido owned property in several *chôria* (villages).²⁵⁸ The judge Byzantios of Bari owned a *proasteion* in which there was an abandoned *chôrion* and was granted another in almost full ownership by the catepan in 1045.²⁵⁹ On the other hand, a woman who married the son of a deacon in Bari around the year 1060 received moveable wealth—fifty gold coins and a slave as *meffio*, and objects estimated to be worth 254 coins and another slave as dowry.²⁶⁰

These individuals are known from narrative sources, and also as signatories of documents, which confirm their involvement in local administration. Thus a Reggio document dating from around the year 1050 was witnessed by ten persons: four belonged to the city's apparatus of government—two tourmarchs, one of whom was the metropolitan's nephew, one *kouboukleisios*, and one *domestikos* of the cathedral; the six others, designated *archontes*, were all part of the city's elite.²⁶¹ Such local notables were fond of titles, most frequently those of *spatharios*, *spatharokandidatos*, and *prôtospatharios*,²⁶² which Byzantine authorities widely handed out to win their favour, sometimes selling them.²⁶³ This proliferation of titles, sometimes high ones, also irrigated local currency circulation by creating a flow of golden coins in so far as the honorands received an annual salary (*roga*).²⁶⁴ Gift-giving was also used in the effort to secure the elite's support, especially towards the end. Thus gold and luxury items were dispatched from the capital, to Bari via Otranto in 1051, and in 1064.²⁶⁵ But the political result was not everything that could be hoped for.

²⁵⁷ See for example Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès*, 31–42 (sharing of the *presbyteranoï's* estate).

²⁵⁸ Three *choria* most of the time, but the heritage of the nun Ioanna covered five *choria* in Oppido and Reggio (Guillou, *La théotokos de Hagia-Agathè [Oppido]*, doc. 44); see also *ibid.*, docs. 2 and 24.

²⁵⁹ *Supra*, nn.71 and 171.

²⁶⁰ Martin and Noyé, 'Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e siècle)', 55.

²⁶¹ Guillou, *Le Brebion*, 197.

²⁶² Some examples for Apulia are in Martin, *La Pouille*, 699–700.

²⁶³ A. Peters-Custot, 'Titulatures byzantines en Apulie et en Calabre', *L'héritage byzantin en Italie VIII^e–XI^e siècle*, II, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, 643–58.

²⁶⁴ P. Lemerle, "'Roga" et rente d'État aux X^e–XI^e siècles', *REB* 25 (1967), 77–100; J.-C. Cheynet, 'Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle', *Byzantion* 53 (1983), 453–77.

²⁶⁵ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann. 1064*, 151: *chelandia cum auro et bellimenta*.

The Normans proved themselves more adept than the Byzantines at exploiting rivalries between local notables. Stilo provides a good example of this: Guiscard appointed Costa Peloga the local *stratigot*, at the same time keeping his enemy Costa Condomicita²⁶⁶ in his entourage: the conquerors' partisans thus supplanted the Lombards ahead of the regime loyalists. Some families—for example, the Maleinoi from Stilo and Rossano, the Mesimerioi from Catanzaro, and the Presbyteranoi from Oppido²⁶⁷—gained from this and were able to maintain their standing. They left their mark on the urban fabric. In Calabria, their dwellings were grand enough to be known as palaces, their rooms serving different domestic purposes with *famuli* in attendance.²⁶⁸ In Bari, they might have one or several storeys: a confrontation between factions saw the *domus* of the Melipezzi family, *zalate* (= *scalate*)²⁶⁹ and *obruite* or *dirute*²⁷⁰ and earlier Guiscard ordered the citizens to give him Argyros's house, as it was much higher than any building nearby.²⁷¹ From there he was able to subject the city in 1068. Whereas the city's 'court' or *castellum* remained similar to the Byzantine *praitōrion*, the Latin *proceres* had adopted the Lombard model, which consisted of a raised *aula*.²⁷²

Alongside these dwellings, which nonetheless retained a residential rather than defensive status (as indicated by terminology), there existed real towers with a military function, like the one guarded in Bari, on Guiscard's behalf,²⁷³ by Argeritius, the head of the pro-Norman party,²⁷⁴ which was clearly different from the palace where the same important figure had lived before. The *castella* built by the Normans in Byzantine *kastra* during the conquest of Calabria were often similar *turres*,²⁷⁵ veritable *donjons*, raised and closed on the ground floors, that were reserved for storing food. This kind of fortification was in theory reserved for the public authority: a vassal's house had to remain *habitabilis* and could not be made *defensabilis* without authorization,²⁷⁶ but as elsewhere in the Western world, this prohibition was transgressed during the periods of weakening of ducal power, as in Bari in 1115 when the Melipezzi's tower, which largely dominated the neighbouring house, had three windowless floors under the guardroom and at least another one above.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁶ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.54.52.

²⁶⁷ Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès*, 31–42 (sharing of their estate).

²⁶⁸ For example *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, ii.24.37.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 154–5: the term, which must refer to *scala*, indicates the existence of a floor. *Zalare a domus* might mean the destruction of the floor.

²⁷⁰ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, ad ann. 1070, 151.

²⁷¹ Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ii.490–3.

²⁷² Perhaps with a flanking tower as in the Carolingian model (see the Melipezzi).

²⁷³ *Storia de'Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, v. 27, 251, and 254.

²⁷⁴ *Supra*, n. 252.

²⁷⁵ Rossano: *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, iii.31.57; Milet: iii.5.60; Gerace: iii.31.76.

²⁷⁶ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, iii.31.76.

²⁷⁷ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, ad ann. 1115.

If factionalism among the leading families of individual cities was one weakness from which the Normans profited, another was the highly developed localism of Byzantine southern Italy in the eleventh century. It was a patchwork of communities centering on *kastra* or *kastellia*, controlling small territories to which they sometimes gave their name.²⁷⁸ Each fortified city or stronghold managed its own defence and was accustomed to negotiating individually with Arab forces. That is what the cities of Calabria did with the Normans, the terms agreed and the status obtained varying from city to city.²⁷⁹ The same might be true for the rural settlements which benefited from natural protections; other *chôria*²⁸⁰ and monasteries²⁸¹ were protected by a tower, or *pyrgos*. Thanks to this fragmentation of the defence, the Normans were able to pick off cities and other centres of resistance one by one.

In Apulia, the Normans were fortunate in their timing. They began to replace the Lombards as the main local threat at a time of serious social tension in many cities of the Catepanate, and were able to use Lombard possessions as bases from which to encroach upon Byzantine territory. The executions ordered by the Catepan Michael Dokeianos in 1041, in reprisal for the murder of his predecessor, gave the Lombard *topoteres* Arduin the excuse to call the Normans to Melfi and start a new revolt. Together and with the help of Athenulf of Benevento, they defeated successive catepans before the arrival of George Maniakes, who attempted to usurp the imperial title, but failed after alienating the citizenry during his governorship.²⁸² In 1042, Argyros was proclaimed Prince and Duke of Italy, a title which realized the secular aspirations of local notables to combine high office with autonomy. There is no need to chronicle the final phase in the Normans' rise. It is only worth noting that during the last struggle for Bari there was still clear evidence of conflict among the urban *archontes*, and that Guiscard was able to benefit from the existence of a strong pro-Norman party and a civil war within the city.²⁸³

In Calabria, the passageway leading to the Byzantine possessions, between the Merkourion Valley and Cassano, remained free for the princes of Salerno who controlled northwest Calabria. In 1044, Guaimar V, who had taken the title of Duke of Calabria (which he would transfer to Drogo of Hauteville), went into the Crati Valley with William of Hauteville and built the castle of Stridula (=Scribla).²⁸⁴ Then Guiscard was installed there as commander, with

²⁷⁸ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.17.17–18.

²⁷⁹ G. Noyé, 'Féodalité et habitat fortifié en Calabre dans la deuxième moitié du XI^e siècle et le premier tiers du XII^e siècle', *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 44 (1981), 607–28, at 620–1.

²⁸⁰ Guillou, *La théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido)*, doc. 22.

²⁸¹ Robinson, 'History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone', doc. 140 (in 1041).

²⁸² Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, 60–2 and 95–6. ²⁸³ *Supra* nn. 271–3.

²⁸⁴ Lupus Protospatharius, *ad ann.* 1044, 146; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, 168.

the task of subduing the region's inhabitants, particularly those in Cosenza, who were viewed as rebels against the Lombards. Guiscard made his first significant gain by a ruse, taking Bisignano from Peter of Tyre, a rich Greek notable. However, Byzantium's control was nominal in the Crati Valley and resistance only came from 'Calabrians', that is to say an autonomous local population.²⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

The social order in Byzantine southern Italy cannot be appraised properly save by exploiting all available sources. It is also important not to confine ourselves either to the viewpoint of the imperial government or to that of the local elites. Nor should we focus narrowly on the social facet of south Italian history. Instead we should strive to piece together, from the narrative sources on events as well as documentary sources, a three-dimensional view of Apulia and Calabria, taking care not to separate out social from economic and institutional history. If we do not take these precautions, we will find ourselves with two different images of Byzantine society in Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries and may conclude, with Jean-Marie Martin, that there were not many anti-imperial revolts.²⁸⁶

We are used to contrasting Apulia—an area of small proprietors where Byzantium's ideal for the social order in the country was apparently realized—with Calabria as a region of great estates. We should remember, though, that the Calabrian estates belonged to important churches such as the metropolis of Reggio and were formed by grants from the state of specific lands that allowed a veritable agricultural policy to develop, in return for ideological and financial support. There is very little documentary evidence for large lay estates; it is plain, however, that they were also built up in Calabria but for a quite different reason—the turmoil induced by Arab raiding in the tenth century. By the eleventh century, the ineluctable processes of partitive inheritance had broken them up and they were nothing but a memory. As for Apulia, we have seen that the notables were far more powerful than has been supposed. They descended from a Lombard aristocracy which had suffered from the Arab presence during the ninth century, but had managed to regain its power during the peace of the tenth century. The level of lay wealth and landownership was, we may suggest, the same across the whole of Byzantine southern Italy.

²⁸⁵ *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, i.12.14, 17.17–18, and i.16–17; Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ii.325–6.

²⁸⁶ See most recently Martin, 'L'économie du thème de Longobardie/catépanat d'Italie', 320.

The principal difference between Calabria and Apulia seems to me to lie in the syncopated chronology of their development. This was blocked in Calabria by the Arab raids of the first two-thirds of the tenth century, after which came a period of rapid economic growth. Apulia, by contrast, was the theatre for repeated conflicts in the eleventh century and suffered accordingly. The whole southern peninsula benefited from participation in the wider imperial market, to which they exported wine, olive oil, and maybe wheat. Calabria was undoubtedly indebted to the Byzantine occupation for the introduction of mulberry trees and for major investment in mulberry plantations while Lombard notables specialized in the production of cash crops for export and invested in long-distance trade. Gold flowed into both regions as pay or gifts for officials, officers, and dignitaries, and was reinvested locally. There was a haemorrhage of Calabrian gold to Sicily and Africa in the tenth century, but the new defences created an equilibrium by the end of the century and the precious metal could be again used for coinage and *dona*.²⁸⁷ In the prevailing peace of the eleventh century the notables intensified exchanges with the island and Africa, selling raw silk, iron, and perhaps wheat, which explains the use of the Arabi *tari* for the calculation of sums owed in the *Brebian* of Reggio. The outcome of these several developments was a growing aspiration among the elites, not so much for complete political independence, as for local autonomy.

The role of the Byzantine state in the field of defence and in the management of settlement and land use should not be exaggerated. Not all fortified settlements were state projects: many were the work of the secular elite, churches, and monasteries, and economic growth also played an important part in the structuring of land and habitat. In any case, the refocusing of defence on *kastra* (fortified towns) at a time when there were long periods of military failure led to a fragmentation of central authority in the localities, and the concentration of defence away from the open plains encouraged peasants to place themselves under the protection of elites, who had weapons and were capable of building fortifications. Even if they were rudimentary, they contributed to the creation of personal bonds of trust. The rise of the urban aristocracy and their control over rural communities was also facilitated by war: small proprietors were ruined by the regular devastation of their crops and could not survive for the ten years or so before replanted vineyards or mulberry trees yielded crops. The employment by the state of professional military units, local or foreign, furthered violence and dissension.

In conclusion, the social paradise envisaged by Jean-Marie Martin was in reality a raging inferno. The relations of the Latins of Longobardia with

²⁸⁷ *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, ad ann. 1064, 151.*

the Principality of Benevento were better than with the local Byzantine administrators in the tenth century. In the following century, periods of calm can be picked out in what was an era of latent or active rebellion, not the opposite. The Arab effect accentuated tensions between a fading imperial centre and the localities as the continuing dispersal of power gave southern Italy the appearance of an agglomeration of urban micro-principalities. Byzantium adopted an ecumenical approach towards the Lombard community's language, law, and ecclesiastical rite, but the soft exercise of power which should have accompanied it, with respect to administration, was missing and integration did not take place for lack of real autonomy.

Social Change in Eleventh-Century Armenia

The Evidence from Tarōn

Tim Greenwood

The social history of tenth- and eleventh-century Armenia has attracted little in the way of sustained research or scholarly analysis. Quite why this should be so is impossible to answer with any degree of confidence, for as shall be demonstrated below, it is not for want of contemporary sources. It may perhaps be linked to the formative phase of modern Armenian historical scholarship, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and its dominant mode of romantic nationalism. The accounts of political capitulation by Armenian kings and princes and consequent annexation of their territories by a resurgent Byzantium sat very uncomfortably with the prevailing political aspirations of the time which were validated through an imagined Armenian past centred on an independent Armenian polity and a united Armenian Church under the leadership of the Catholicos. Acknowledgement that members of the Armenian elite had voluntarily given up their ancestral domains in exchange for status and territories in Byzantium would not have advanced the campaign for Armenian self-determination. It is also possible that the descriptions of widespread devastation suffered across many districts and regions of central and western Armenia at the hands of Seljuk forces in the eleventh century became simply too raw, too close to the lived experience and collective trauma of Armenians in these same districts at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, to warrant or permit closer investigation. Whatever the underlying reasons may be, it remains the case that later tenth- and eleventh-century Armenia continues to be viewed principally in terms of political decline, territorial annexation, and material destruction.¹ It is only towards the end of the eleventh century, with the

¹ H. Bartikian, 'La conquête de l'Arménie par l'Empire byzantin', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 8 (1971), 327–40; N. Garsoïan, 'The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian

emergence of a patchwork of new and often precarious Armenian lordships outside the districts and regions of historic Armenia, that an apparent upswing in Armenian fortunes—and scholarly interest—has been detected, a process culminating in the restoration of an Armenian kingdom through the coronation of Levon I by Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz, in the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Tarsus on 6 January 1198.²

By convention, therefore, this period has been treated as transitional. In purely political terms, this is incontrovertible. The century between the annexation of Tarōn in AD 966/7 and the surrender of the kingdom of Kars in 1064 saw the concession of substantial swathes of territory to Byzantine control and the permanent displacement of the leading Armenian families from the central districts of historic Armenia to estates hundreds of miles to the west, in Cappadocia and beyond.³ But whilst the historical trajectories of many of these families in Byzantium have been traced, the social and cultural development of the communities they left behind in territories now under Byzantine control has not been studied in anything like the same depth. Indeed one would be forgiven for thinking that as soon as these districts were transferred to Byzantine control, they fell outside the Armenian historical purview and effectively ceased to be Armenian. This notion, of an inexorable shrinking of Armenia in the century after 966/7, with all the negative connotations associated with that process, has proved remarkably resilient.

There are, however, several contemporary Armenian texts which offer a very different picture. The historical compositions of pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean (the first part of which is attributed, confusingly, to Zenob Glak), Uxtanēs, and Aristakēs Lastivertc'i were all composed in districts of

Kingdoms in the Eleventh Century', in *The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*, ed. R. Hovannisian (New York, 1997), I, 187–98; J.-C. Cheynet and G. Dédéyan, 'Vocation impériale ou fatalité diasporique: les Arméniens à Byzance (IV^e–XI^e siècle)', in *Histoire du peuple arménien*, ed. G. Dédéyan (Toulouse, 2008), 297–326. Some historians posit a causal relationship between these processes, arguing that the annexation of the Armenian kingdoms and principalities provided the right conditions for the success of the Seljuk raids. This may have been the view of later Armenian historians such as Matthew of Edessa, looking back from the third decade of the twelfth century, but that does not of itself prove the connection.

² G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés. Étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 2003). For the date of the coronation, see P. Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln, 1996), 189–245; Z. Pogossian, *The Letter of Love and Concord* (Leiden, 2010), 17–20 and n. 46.

³ N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance', *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), 197–263, combining the three parts published under the same title in successive issues of *Byzantion* (1934–36); J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoirs et contestations à Byzance 963–1210* (Paris, 1990); N. Garsoïan, 'The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire', in *Studies of the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1998), 53–124.

western and central Armenia after the departure of the leading families.⁴ Such texts possess a particular significance, for whilst only Aristakēs offers a contemporary historical narrative, they all reflect something of the social and cultural experiences of the Armenian communities who remained. Furthermore, as texts composed within the eastern boundaries of the Byzantine Empire, they also offer a unique perspective from which to explore many aspects of contemporary provincial life, including literary culture. In other words, such texts need to be thought of as both Armenian and Byzantine: written in Armenian and aware of Armenian historical tradition but composed in a Byzantine provincial context and expressing, whether intentionally or not, present conditions and attitudes. This is not to argue that contemporary Armenian compositions written beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire could not be influenced by Byzantine literary culture. One has only to examine the considerable attention paid to Byzantine imperial history in the third book of Step'anos Tarōnec'i's *Universal History* to find support for the contention that the influence of Byzantine historical narratives extended beyond the immediate frontiers of the Empire.⁵ But these three texts may retain something of the character of life on the eastern frontier which those Armenian texts composed outside the Empire could not access, at least not directly.

Thus far, 'Byzantine' and 'Armenian' have been treated as singular and opposite categories. This is a considerable oversimplification. By the end of the tenth century, the Roman Empire in the east and Armenia had been in relationship with one another for over a millennium. The political, social, and cultural ties between them were multiple and varied, to the extent that it would be more appropriate to think of pulses of Byzantine influence being transmitted simultaneously from different foci, engendering a spectrum of receptions and reactions across the regions and districts of historic Armenia. Each encounter will have been specific and particular. Since, however, it is impossible to examine here the circumstances and the consequences of Byzantine interaction with every district or constituency of Armenian society

⁴ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, ed. A. Hakobyan, in *Matenagirk 'Hayoc'* (Antelias, 2005), V, 971–1126, trans. L. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn*, Occasional Papers and Proceedings 6 (Atlanta, GA, 1993). Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. P. Yovhannisyan and G. Madoyan, in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* (Antelias, 2012), XV, 441–616, part 1 trans. M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens. Kiracos de Gantzac, Oukhtanēs d'Ourha* (St Petersburg, 1870), 206–76, and part 2 trans. Z. Arzoumanian, *Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebasteia History of Armenia Part II History of the Severance of the Georgians from the Armenians* (Fort Lauderdale, 1985); Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy*, ed. K.N. Yuzbashian (Erevan, 1963), trans. M. Canard and H. Berbērian, *Aristakēs de Lastivert: Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, Bibliothèque de Byzantion 5 (Brussels, 1973). For an introduction to pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean's *History of Tarōn* and Uxtanēs' *History*, see T.W. Greenwood, *The Universal History of Step'anos Tarōnec'i* (Oxford, 2017), 17–32.

⁵ Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asolik, *Patmut'iwn Tiezarakan*, ed. G. Manukyan, in *Matenagirk 'Hayoc'* (Antelias, 2012), XV, 735–829, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*. For the Byzantine dimensions of book III, see Greenwood, *Universal History*, 55–62.

during the later tenth and eleventh centuries, this study will for the most part be confined to assessing the social and cultural history of one district, Tarōn, in the century after its annexation in AD 966/7, and the removal of its princely house.⁶ This is not as hidden as one might have assumed.

The process of engagement between Byzantium and the princes of Tarōn in the century before AD 966/7 has been well described elsewhere.⁷ From the first award of the prestigious title of *kouropalatēs* to Ašot prince of Tarōn at some point after 858 and before 878, through the elevation of Krikorikios to the rank of *strategos* of Tarōn in 900 down to the desperate (and unsuccessful) efforts of the *patrikios* Tornikios to obtain sanctuary inside the Empire for himself, his wife, and their child in the 930s by offering his lands in exchange, it is clear that there were long-standing ties. These had more than simply political implications. Under pressure from his cousins, Bagrat and Ašot, Tornikios arranged before his death that all his country should be subject to the emperor of the Romans.⁸ This implies the adoption of Roman legal practice by Tornikios because using written instruments to transfer property rights to a nominated heir was not Armenian custom. In the event, the emperor Romanos accepted the territories left to him by Tornikios but then exchanged them with his erstwhile oppressors for Oulnoutin/Elnut, a fortress on the north-western fringe of Tarōn.⁹ He did, however, honour Tornikios' plea for protection for his family by giving to his widow a monastery in Constantinople as her residence.¹⁰ This arrangement, exchanging unspecified lands within Tarōn for security and property rights in Constantinople, predates by some thirty

⁶ The kingdoms of Vaspurakan, Ani, and Kars were annexed in 1021, 1045, and 1064, respectively but will have experienced different social and cultural changes. The commercial character and size of the city of Ani was unique, implying that its engagements with Byzantium after 1045 will have been different to those of other regions. The consequences of each annexation merit separate treatment.

⁷ Adontz, 'Taronites', 197–220; P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Krikorikios de Taron', in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines*, ed. M. Berza and E. Stănescu (Bucharest, 1975), II, 345–58; repr. in her *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (London, 1981), no. XIV; B. Martin-Hisard, 'Constantinople et les archontes du monde caucasien dans le livre des cérémonies II, 48', *TM* 13 (2000), 375–81; J. Shepard, 'Constantine VII, Caucasian Openings and the Road to Aleppo', in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), 22–5; T.W. Greenwood, 'Patterns of Contact and Communication: Constantinople and Armenia, 860–976', in *Armenian Constantinople*, ed. R. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA, 2010), 82–4 and 89–91.

⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* 43.171–77, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), 197.

⁹ *DAI* 43.177–86. Aristakēs notes that during the reign of Theodora (11 January 1055–early September 1056), Iwanē, the son of Liparit, arrested a judge, *datawor*, who had responsibility for the east, in the fortress of Hawačič' and imprisoned him in Elnut, that is Oulnoutin: Aristakēs, *Patmut'wn*, 106.6–14.

¹⁰ *DAI* 43.175–7. The monastery of the *protospatharios* Michael, a former *kommerkiarios* of Chaldia, was in the district of Psamathia, on the sea of Marmara, between the wall of Constantine and the church of John Studios.

years the district's complete annexation. The difference is one of scale, not of principle. In the 930s, Tornikios appears to have been a lesser figure who tried to stave off the depredations of Bagrat and Ašot by appealing to the emperor and offering the lands he held in Tarōn. By contrast, in 966/7 the sons of Ašot, Gregory/Grigor, and Bagrat, together yielded the whole of Tarōn in exchange for the rank of *patrikios* and unspecified but revenue-producing estates within the Empire.¹¹ That this occurred immediately after the death of Ašot, and that both his sons were involved, implies the lapse of a prior agreement which had guaranteed Ašot a life-interest in Tarōn, the district then reverting to the emperor at his death.¹² There can be little doubt that this transfer shifted the balance of power in central Armenia in favour of Byzantium. Just two years later, Step'anos Tarōnec'i observes that Bardas Phokas, nephew of Nikephoros II Phokas and *doux* of Chaldia and Koloneia, advanced through Apahunik'—immediately to the north of Tarōn—and destroyed the walls of the city of Manzikert.¹³

The subsequent career of Gregory, known as Taronites, is well attested. Step'anos Tarōnec'i records that he sided with Bardas Skleros in his rebellion of 977, alongside his brother.¹⁴ However, the Christian Arab historian, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, writing in the 1030s, reports that the *magistros* Taronites remained loyal to Basil II during the revolt of Bardas Phokas in 987, leading a counterattack, albeit an unsuccessful one, through Trebizond in 988.¹⁵ Finally Skylitzes confirms that the *magistros* Gregory Taronites was appointed *doux* of Thessalonike in 991 but was killed five years later trying to rescue his son Ašot who had been ambushed and captured by Bulgars.¹⁶ If these references are all

¹¹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, 279.82–6, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin–New York, 1973), trans. B. Flusin, with comm. by J.–C. Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes Empereurs de Constantinople* (Paris, 2003), 234–5. Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 757, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 235.

¹² A similar agreement was made with *kouropalatēs* David of Tayk' in 989 after he had sided with Bardas Phokas against Basil II: Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, *Histoire*, ed. and trans. I. Kratchovskiy and A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* 23 (1932), 429, echoed in Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 822, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 307–8. The same approach was employed in respect of Yovhannēs-Smbat III Bagratuni in 1022: Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'iwn Matt'ēosi Urhayec'woy*, ed. M. Melik'-Adamean and N. Ter-Mik'ayelean (Vaḻaršapat, 1898); repr. with facing modern Armenian translation by H. Bart'ikyan (Erevan, 1991), 56–8, trans. A.E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD, 1993), 46. Matthew finished his chronicle in c.1129.

¹³ Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 757, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 235.

¹⁴ Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 763, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 243.

¹⁵ Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, *Histoire*, PO 23 (1932), 424. He went by sea to Trebizond where he assembled a large force to march to the Euphrates but was put to flight by troops despatched by David *kouropalatēs*.

¹⁶ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339.69–71 and 341.16–22, trans. Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes*, 283, 285.

to the same figure, he enjoyed a long and successful career in imperial service.¹⁷

It is less clear, however, who followed Gregory Taronites and his family into the Byzantine Empire in 966/7. Were Gregory and Bagrat accompanied by a handful of close relations or did they take a large body of supporters with them? One way of approaching this question is to examine what happened in 1021 when Senek'erim Arcruni gave up his ancestral lands in Vaspurakan in exchange for 'the honour of *patrikios* and *strategos* of Cappadocia' and 'the cities of Sebasteia, Larissa, Abara and many other domains', as Skylitzes reports.¹⁸ The fullest account of both the terms and the process is preserved in the *History* of Matthew of Edessa:

At that time he resolved to give the country of his ancestors to the king of the Greeks Basil and to receive Sebasteia and he wrote straightaway to the king. When king Basil heard this, he was happy and had Sebasteia given to him. And Senek'erim gave the country of Vaspurakan, 72 fortresses [*t'emaberds*], 4,400 villages and he did not give the monasteries [*vanoraysn*] but he kept those that prayed for him, 115 monasteries, and he gave everything in writing to Basil. And king Basil sent to Senek'erim to send to him David in royal splendour and he sent his son, and with him the sons of the nobles [*azatk'*] and the bishop lord Elišē and 300 pack-mules, laden with treasures and various goods and 1000 Arabian horses. And in such glory, David entered Constantinople and the city was stirred and everyone came out before him and they decorated the streets and palaces and they showered many treasures upon him. And king Basil rejoiced exceedingly at the sight of David and he conveyed him to Saint Sophia's and made him his adopted son [*ordegir*] and they revered him as the son of a king. And the king gave to him many presents and returned him to his father and he gave to him Sebasteia, with many districts. And Senek'erim left with all his relatives and people and came to Sebasteia, and the country of Armenia was abandoned by its kings and princes.¹⁹

This passage offers many fascinating details as well as posing some intriguing questions. The country of Vaspurakan is imagined in terms of fortresses, villages, and monasteries, that is, in terms of settlements and communities, but strangely there is no reference to the urban centres of Amiwk, Van, or Ostan. Were these outside his immediate control, and so not his to give, or were they defined as fortresses?²⁰ The 115 monasteries that prayed for him

¹⁷ For a study of the Taronites, including an important discussion of the seals, see J.-C. Cheynet, 'Les Arméniens dans l'armée byzantine au X^e siècle', in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, *TM* 18 (2014), 175–92.

¹⁸ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 354.94–355.6, trans. Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes*, 296.

¹⁹ Matthew of Edessa, *Zamanakagrut'iwn*, 54–6, trans. Dostourian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 45–6.

²⁰ A third description is supplied by one of the Continuators of T'ovma Arcruni's *History*: T'ovma Arcruni and Anonymous, *Patmut'iwn tann Arcrunec'*, ed. G. Tēr-Vardanean, in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* (Antelias, 2010), XI, 298, trans. R.W. Thomson, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'* (Detroit, 1985), 370–1. This account is very general, referring to the transfer of unspecified cities and fortresses by Senek'erim. Since this has been combined with a description

were excluded from the agreement and retained by Senek'erim, thereby ensuring their ongoing intercession on his behalf. But did Senek'erim continue to protect the endowments of each community, and if so, how did he manage this from Sebasteia? The description of David's entry into Constantinople records not only the makeup of the procession but also its reception inside the city, with people lining the route and the streets and palaces decorated. This visual demonstration of the wealth of Vaspurakan, and its public reception, is strongly reminiscent of Basil's own triumph through the streets of Constantinople in 1018 after the final submission of Bulgaria.²¹ According to Skylitzes, Basil entered the city through the Golden Gate preceded by Maria, the widow of John Vladislav, the daughters of Samuel, other Bulgars, and the Bulgar archbishop. In comparison, David entered the city accompanied by the sons of the nobles and bishop Elišē. In both cases, the range of figures is significant. Just as David was acting as the representative of his father Senek'erim, so it seems that the sons were representing their fathers. By participating in the procession, they were displaying their fathers' approval of Senek'erim's decision and hence their willingness to accompany their king into Byzantine service. No less important was the presence of bishop Elišē in David's entourage, for this too implies his consent to the surrender of Vaspurakan and subsequent transfer to Sebasteia.

Therefore when Senek'erim came to terms with Basil II over the sovereignty of Vaspurakan and took possession of Sebasteia and its surrounding districts, he was accompanied by his extended family, his nobles, and at least one bishop. It is not possible to work out how many people this would have involved but one of the continuators to T'ovma Arcruni's *History* puts the figure as high as 14,000 men, excluding women and children.²² Whatever the true figure may have been, it is certain that there were other clerics among them. A Gospels manuscript completed in AD 1066/7 in Sebasteia contains a colophon which opens in the following manner:

515 of the number of the Armenian cycle.

I the priest Grigor, at the weakening of this people of Armenia, in the time of our persecution by the people of Ismayel. We were brought up in the regions of the east, in the mountains of Ayrarat, in the village which is called Arkuri, and having followed our pious king, Senek'erim, we went and settled in this city of Sebasteia,

of the Bagratuni concessions made twenty years later, its reference to the concession of cities is not decisive.

²¹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 364.89–365.95, trans. Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes*, 303. It is highly significant that when Maria surrendered to Basil II at Ochrid, she was accompanied by her three sons and six daughters, together with an illegitimate son of Samuel, and two daughters and five sons of Gabriel Radomir, son of Samuel: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 359.20–8, trans. Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes*, 299. After her surrender, Maria was sent to Constantinople with her sons and all her relatives: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 363.57–364.66, trans. Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzes*, 302. See C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford, 2005), 212 and 501.

²² T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iw nann Arcrunec'*, 298, trans. Thomson, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, 370–1.

where the Forty Martyrs poured out their blood, who gave battle during the time of bitter wind and water-freezing. And then five years later, my much-favoured and greatly-honoured father Anania, a priest, died in the royal city of Biwzandion and we were left, two brothers Gëorg and Grigor. During infancy, we studied at the feet of the blessed lord P'ilippos and his sons Step'annos and Sahak and in accordance with their customary goodness, they became our nourishers and teachers...²³

The colophon then describes how Grigor became an expert scribe and illuminator, skilled in the use of gold leaf. His lord Sahak was able to procure for him a box of equipment from the royal city of Constantinople and Grigor used this when finishing this Gospel.²⁴ Once again this colophon supplies much significant evidence. Grigor and his brother Gëorg were born in Arkuři, probably to be identified as the village of Axorik, located in the east of Vaspurakan, close to T'ornawan. They were taken by their (spiritual?) father Anania to Sebasteia when Senek'erim moved there and after Anania's death in Constantinople, they were taught there by the blessed lord P'ilippos. Although he is not specifically identified as such, it is possible that P'ilippos was also a bishop; both his title and his role as teacher imply this.²⁵ This colophon therefore reveals that Senek'erim was accompanied by priests when he relocated to Sebasteia. The corollary is that on his departure, Vaspurakan was deprived of both episcopal oversight and priestly provision.

Returning to the annexation of Tarōn fifty years before, it seems very likely that Gregory's departure was accompanied by a similar disruption to the episcopacy. A second colophon, attached to a commentary on the Song of Songs completed in 973/4, reports contemporary ecclesiastical turbulence in Tarōn:

In 422 of the Armenian era [28 March 973–27 March 974] and 725 of the era of Rome²⁶ this commentary of the Song of Songs was written in the district of Tarōn

²³ A.S. Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeragreri Hišatakaraner* (Erevan, 1988), no. 124.

²⁴ Professor Thomas Mathews has commented on the different palettes employed in the decoration of the Gospel of King Gagik-Abas of Kars (J2556) and the Trebizond Gospels (V1400). Mathews argued that the latter was completed in Princess Maren's scriptorium at Tzemandos following her relocation there in 1065 and was influenced by the former. However, the absence of indigo blue and organic green pigments from the Trebizond Gospels, coupled with the introduction of an organic brown, suggests a significant change in the availability of certain pigments and the use of a Byzantine palette provides a neat solution. Armenian illuminators tended to use mineral-based pigments whilst Constantinopolitan artists used vegetal-based pigments: 'The Secrets of the Gospel of Gagik-Abas (J2556)', delivered at the XII^e Conférence Générale of the *Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes*, Central European University, Budapest, 7 October 2011.

²⁵ The use of *tēr*, lord, as an episcopal title is a consistent feature of medieval Armenian compositions, including those of Step'anos Tarōnec'i and Matthew of Edessa.

²⁶ Remarkably this chronology is based on the foundation of old Rome, *ab urbe condita*, in 753 BC; the year 1000 fell in AD 247, which, when added to 725, produces 973/4. This is its first attested use. There are two other confirmed examples. The Ējmiacin Gospels (M2374) were

by the hand of Petros, unworthy scribe at the command of father Kiwrakos and with the consent of these brothers, as a memorial for their souls, at the time of the flight from the country of Grigor bishop of Mamikoneank', and after his death, there was much disorder and opposition in connection with the ordination of a bishop.²⁷

This passage therefore describes the turmoil in two stages: firstly the flight of bishop Grigor and secondly, after his death, troubles surrounding the consecration of a successor. Both merit analysis. There can be no doubt that Grigor bishop of the Mamikoneans had episcopal oversight of Tarōn. The bishop of Tarōn was traditionally also known as the bishop of the Mamikoneans. In the list of signatories to the pact of union agreed at the Second Council of Dvin on 21 March 555, the first-named bishop after the Catholicos Nersēs was Meršapuh, 'bishop of Tarōn and the Mamikoneans'.²⁸ The circumstances surrounding Grigor's flight are not recorded but there are strong grounds for arguing that it should be associated with the departure of princes Gregory and Bagrat. As outlined above, bishop Elišē—and arguably bishop P'ilippos—left Vaspurakan with Senek'erim Arcruni. Armenian bishops were aligned with, and often related to, the leading princely families of the districts over which their episcopal oversight operated; they were not independent appointments imposed from outside. This continued to be the case in the middle of the tenth century. In Anania Mokac'i's description of the rebellion of the see of Ałuank' from the see of the holy Illuminator (and hence his own authority), he recounts how he travelled to Kapan in the district of Bałk in Siwnik' in spring 958 and there consecrated Vahan, the son of Juanšir, prince of princes, as bishop of Siwnik'.²⁹ Better known perhaps is the figure of Xosrov, prince of Anjewac'ik', the father of Grigor Narekac'i, who took holy orders after the death of his wife and was consecrated bishop of Anjewac'ik' by Anania Mokac'i before 950/1.³⁰ The ties between the princely houses and

completed in 438 of the Armenian era (24 March 989–23 March 990) and according to the era of Rome 742. Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwñ Tiezerakan*, 828, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 314, treated this slightly differently, employing a chronology based on the reign of Philip the Arab, during which the millennium of old Rome's foundation occurred. Two of the three dates are associated with Tarōn. It seems therefore that this chronology was devised locally after the annexation of Tarōn, possibly in response to this event, and that it was short-lived.

²⁷ Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeragreri Hišatakaranner*, no. 75 (M2684).

²⁸ *Girk' T'h'oc'*, ed. Y. Izmireanc' (Tiflis, 1901), 73.26–7. A letter composed by catholicos Yovhannēs II Gabelean (AD c.558–c.574) refers to 'Abraham bishop of Tarawn and the Mami-koneans'; *ibid.*, 81.10–11.

²⁹ Anania I Mokac'i was catholicos of Armenia between 941/2 and 965/6. For text and translation, see P. Boisson, A. Mardirossian, and A. Ouzounian, 'Trois opuscles d'Anania Mokac'i', *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, *TM* 18 (2014), 771–841, at 818–20.

³⁰ Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeragreri Hišatakaranner*, no. 70: 'The commentary on this book came into being by the hand of bishop Xosrov Anjewac'ik', a close follower of the commands of God, in Armenian era 399 [3 April 950–2 April 951]. The first copy of this book came into being through the hand of Sahak, son of the same lord Xosrov. May the Lord remember them with

the bishop(s) established across their territories were close, the actions of the former determining the decisions of the latter. In the absence of a princely family to promote its own candidates as bishops and secure their election, turmoil over the succession would have been inevitable, which is exactly what this colophon records.

On the basis of the above, it seems that the Byzantine annexation of districts of Armenia involved the removal of both the lay and the ecclesiastical leadership and the severe disruption, if not complete collapse, of local networks of power and authority. How were these replaced? From an administrative perspective, we know that Tarōn was designated as a theme; it is listed as such in the *Taktikon Scorialensis*, a composition dated to either the reign of emperor John I Tzimiskes or the first years of Basil II.³¹ Moreover Matthew of Edessa's *History* preserves a short letter seemingly appended to the famous letter addressed by Tzimiskes to king Ašot III Bagratuni, composed in 975 which reported, and embellished, his many successes on campaign in Syria.³² The attached letter, also written from the perspective of the emperor, was apparently prepared on receipt of a report from the *protospatharios* Leo, *strategos* of Derjan and Tarōn. Since it addresses matters considered earlier in the narrative, it seems highly likely that this too was addressed to Ašot III Bagratuni:

From the *anap'ōra* of the *pitōspat'r* Lewon commander of Derjan and Tarōn, greetings and joy in the Lord. We have learned that the fortress of Ayceac' which you seized you have not returned. We have now written to our commander, that he should not take the fortress or the grain which you had contracted, since we do not need it now. But give the *chrysobull* which we had sent to our commander, who will forward it to our Majesty; and for your labours and your corn, you shall obtain full compensation for your seeds.³³

compassion and mercy; through our prayers, may he visit goodness upon us.' See also P. Cowe, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjewac'i* (New York, 1991), 3–18; A. and J.-P. Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek Tragédie (Matean olbergut'ean)*, CSCO vol. 584, Subs. 106 (Louvain, 2000), 34–9.

³¹ K.N. Yuzbashian, 'L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X^e et XI^e siècles', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 10 (1973–4), 139–83; N. Oikonomidès, 'L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e–XI^e siècles et le taktikon de l'Escorial', in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucharest, 1975), I, 285–302. For the text, see N. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 263 and 355–6.

³² Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 24–32, trans. Dostourian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 29–33.

³³ Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 32, trans. Dostourian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 33. *anap'ōra*, a transliteration of *ἀναφορά*, report: see Adontz, 'Notes arméno-byzantines', in his *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), 143–4, originally published under the same title in successive issues of *Byzantion* (1934–35).

The particular combination of honorific title and office, *protospatharios* and *strategos*, is found repeatedly on seals of the tenth and the eleventh centuries from themes across the Byzantine Empire. Although there are no published seals attesting this single command over Derjan/Derxene and Tarōn, it may be significant that *magistros* Ć'ortuanēl, an erstwhile supporter of Bardas Phokas, is reported by Step'anos Tarōnec'i to have seized the districts of Derjan and Tarōn and held out against forces loyal to Basil II until defeated and killed on the plain of Bagarič in Derjan in 990/1.³⁴ Moreover there is one seal, of Michael *spatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, *logariastes* of the *Great Kouratourikion*, *artoklines*, and *anagrapheus*, which indicated his administrative responsibilities across Chaldia, Derzene, and Tarōn.³⁵ But it is clear that the combinations of themes changed over time. So whilst one seal identifies Pankratios (Bagarat) *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Tarōn, another, dating from the 1050s, refers to Gregory Arsakides—the famous Armenian man of letters Grigor Magistros—as *magistros, epi tou koitonos*, and *doux* of Tarōn and Vaspurakan.³⁶

The consequences of this thematic designation for the communities left in Tarōn are at first sight harder to determine, given the apparent silence from within Tarōn. What type of theme did Tarōn become? If Tarōn became a theme similar to the cluster of small themes first attested in the 950s and known collectively as 'Armenian themes', then it is possible to advance a series of propositions.³⁷ Some of the lands within the new theme of Tarōn would have obtained the legal status of *stratitika ktemata*, or military lands, which generated *stratitotai*, soldiers who were enrolled in the thematic forces under the command of the *strategos*. The creation of such military lands would have completely transformed the patterns of landholding and lordship across the district, linking possession of property to military service in the Byzantine army and supplanting the web of personal relationships and family ties which had operated hitherto and preserved the power of the leading family across many decades. Such a radical policy could only have been implemented if the

³⁴ Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iw'n Tiezerakan*, 805, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 289–90. The districts of Derjan and Tarōn are proximate but are not traditionally thought of as being adjacent. This incidental reference suggests that the two themes were adjacent to one another, lending support to the contention that the combination of commands held by Lewon was contemporary. Intriguingly *Notitia* 10 lists at no. 56 the Byzantine metropolitan province of Keltzene, Kortzene, and Taron: J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), 336. The north-west/south-east orientation of this eparchy means that it broadly corresponded with the thematic combination of Derjan/Derxene and Tarōn.

³⁵ *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, ed. E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, and N. Oikonomidēs (Washington, D.C., 2001), IV, 76.1.

³⁶ *DOS IV*, 76.5 and 76.2, respectively.

³⁷ Such themes are attested sigillographically: see *DOS IV* 56.1–15. They are also recognized in the imperial land legislation: see below. H. Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1991), 60–4, excludes Tarōn from his putative list of Armenian themes.

former owners of these lands had been displaced and all potential claims extinguished. As argued previously, that appears to have been the situation in Vaspurakan and so it is likely that Tarōn experienced something very similar. It is striking that Nikephoros II Phokas, during whose reign Tarōn was annexed, issued a novel concerning contested land claims and compensation for murder in the Armenian themes.³⁸ Aware of the ‘instability and wandering’ of Armenian *stratiotai*, the legislation narrowed the time limit for recovering abandoned lands from thirty years to three years.

We decree that if Armenian *stratiotai* have gone off and spent a period of three years elsewhere, and afterwards upon their return discover that their properties have been granted either to refugees, to other *stratiotai* for courage in battle, or else have been offered to officers of the themes or *tagmata*, or to valiant *strategoï*, or even to others because of public service, the Armenian *stratiotai* who return after three years are not to claim or recover these properties.

The only exceptions concerned those Armenian properties which were not abandoned but had been donated to the imperial monastery of Lakape, assigned to *kouratoureiai* of any kind or given to one of the powerful as a favour. In those circumstances, the three-year rule did not apply and the owners or their heirs had thirty years within which to reclaim their properties. These exceptions reveal that the Armenian themes also contained other categories of land in addition to *stratiotika ktemata*, including *kouratoureiai*, land under direct imperial supervision and control, land owned by officers in both the thematic and tagmatic armies, including *strategoï*, land owned by others by virtue of public service, and land owned by monasteries. This range of landowners suggests that only some of the lands incorporated into an Armenian theme would have been held by individual *stratiotai*.

On the other hand, if Tarōn was not one of the Armenian themes, as Kühn proposed, then we are faced with the challenge of trying to establish what kind of theme it was. It seems less likely that it was related to those older, interior themes, established away from the borders, where annual military service was increasingly being commuted for a money payment. And if it was not in the mould either of the Armenian themes or the older, established themes, then it fell into a third, as yet undefined, category. Yet if it could be combined both with an Armenian theme, Derjan, and an established theme, Chaldia, at the same time, and on another occasion with Vaspurakan, created some fifty years later, we should admit the possibility that all of these themes possessed common administrative and legal features which made such temporary

³⁸ N. Svoronos, *Les Nouvelles des Empereurs Macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994), 162–73, trans. E. McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Toronto, 2000), 86–9. That both landholding and compensation for murder were treated in the same legislation reveals that the annexation of these districts, and the resultant reconfiguration of land ownership, had significant legal consequences.

conjunctions possible.³⁹ The alternative would be to envisage a *strategos* trying to exploit different systems operating within the themes under his control.

Up to this point, the creation and development of the theme of Tarōn has been studied primarily through Byzantine sources. It is, however, also possible to trace something of the transformation of Tarōn after its annexation in 966/7 by studying the eponymous Armenian text, the *History of Tarōn*.⁴⁰ This is not as obvious as it might seem because the first part of this text, attributed to Zenob the Syrian, purports to record the activities of St Grigor the Illuminator in Tarōn at the start of the fourth century, and the second part, attributed to Yovhannēs Mamikonean, reports the travails of Tarōn and its elite during the first half of the seventh century.⁴¹ There are, however, several features of both parts of the text, identified by Avdoyan and others, which collectively support a date of composition in the second half of the tenth century, after the Byzantine annexation and before Uxtanēs of Sebasteia completed his own work of history, between AD 982 and 988.⁴² Uxtanēs is the first Armenian author to cite Zenob's *History* or to refer to the monastery of Glak and even he seems to have been sceptical as to its historical value.⁴³ But whilst it is certainly the case that the *History of Tarōn* has nothing to contribute to the study of the conversion of Armenia in the fourth century or the era of Heraclius and Khusro II at the start of the seventh century, this does not mean it is without historical merit. When viewed as a composition of the later tenth century, it acquires real significance, commenting upon the present through a creative refashioning of the past. It therefore expresses something of the conditions then prevailing across the newly annexed district of Tarōn, showing how both authority and historical memory were in the process of being renegotiated. The old order had been swept away and this text represents an ambitious attempt by one monastic community to establish its antiquity and its sanctity

³⁹ DOS IV 76.1 and 76.2, respectively.

⁴⁰ For a study of this composition, see T.W. Greenwood, "Imagined past, revealed present": A Reassessment of Պատմութիւն Տարօնի [History of Tarōn], *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, TM 18 (2014), 377–92.

⁴¹ For the part traditionally attributed to Zenob Glak, see Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 981–1044; for the part traditionally attributed to Yovhannēs Mamikonean, see Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 1045–1126. Despite their historic separation, they should be treated as a single composition.

⁴² Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 16–25 and 42–8.

⁴³ For the first reference, see Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 492, trans. Brosset, *Oukhtanēs d'Ourha*, 256: 'Now concerning this child, who was the brother of St Grigor, Zenob the Syrian has stated truthfully in his *History*.' For his uncertainty, see Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 509, trans. Brosset, *Oukhtanēs d'Ourha*, 275: 'We have written in our *History* more than once about the reign of Trdat, when and in whose times it occurred. But Zenob and Movsēs were not in agreement with one another about this, for Zenob states that Trdat became king under Probus [*i Probay*]... Now Movsēs states he became king under Diocletian...' Uxtanēs is highly unusual among Armenian historians in identifying his two conflicting sources by name.

by claiming St Grigor as its founder. After all, with their individual and independent traditions of worship, literacy, and landholding, monasteries were particularly well placed to take advantage of the displacement of the lay and clerical elite in the years after 966/7. As Avdoyan has noted, this is the oldest Armenian example of a work of institutional history, tracing the foundation and history of the monastery of Glak.⁴⁴ The radically different circumstances subsisting across Tarōn at this time provided exactly the right context for such a novel form of historical writing to emerge.

How then does the *History of Tarōn* advance our understanding of the restructuring of the district as a Byzantine theme? One of the subjects developed in the course of the narrative is how the monastery acquired its own lands. According to Zenob, once Grigor had founded the church, placed relics there, and appointed Epiphanius/Epip'an as abbot of the monastery, he endowed it with twelve *dastakerts*, estates, seven of which are then named. These are defined not in terms of their location or their boundaries but in terms of their human and more particularly military resources:

Among these, the first is Kuařs and Melti and Parex, which is Brex, and Xortum, which is Tum, and Xorni and Kitełk', which is Kels, and Bazrum, which is Bazum, because these are the greatest settlements [*avans*] which exist in the record of the Mamikonean princes. Because Kuařs had 3012 houses [*erdahamars*], 1500 cavalry [*heceloc'*] and 2200 infantry [*hetewaks*]. And Melti had 2080 houses [*erds*] and 800 cavalry and 1030 infantry. And Xrtum 900 hearths [*cuxs*] and 400 cavalry. And Xrtni, 1906 houses, and 700 cavalry and 1007 infantry. Then Parex, 1680 houses and 1030 cavalry and 400 infantry. Then Ketełk' 1600 houses and 800 cavalry and 600 infantry. Then Bazrum, which is translated the home of Bazmac', 3200 houses and 1040 cavalry, 840 archers [*alełnawors*] and 680 javelin-throwers [*tigawors*] and 280 stone-throwers [*par-sawors*]. And these had the district of Hařtēank' stretched out as pasture for their flocks of sheep.⁴⁵

These are of course impossibly large figures, more appropriate to whole themes rather than individual villages, but the very fact that these settlements were imagined in terms of households and military contingents is strikingly similar to the connection between landholding and military service found in the *stratitika ktemata* outlined above. Furthermore whilst six of the seven estates generated cavalry or cavalry and infantry, Bazrum was required to produce not only cavalry but archers, javelin throwers, and stone-throwers/slingers. These different specialized groups all feature in the tactics described in two contemporary Byzantine military treatises, the *Praecepta militaria*

⁴⁴ Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 6 and 47.

⁴⁵ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy*, 1026–7, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 88–9.

(c.AD 965) attributed to the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, and a revised, expanded version of this treatise, the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, composed in c.AD 1000.⁴⁶ Both texts begin by stating that the infantry should be raised from Romans and Armenians, that is, heavy infantry (*hoplitai*), archers (*toxotai*), javelin-throwers (*akonistai* or *riparistai*), and slingers (*sphendobolistai*). The range of military skills anticipated in the *Taktika* is replicated in the levies imposed on Bazrum.

On the basis of this evidence, it appears that land in the newly annexed theme of Tarōn was designated *stratiotika ktemata*, with military obligations attaching to it. On the other hand, the use of *dastakert* to describe the landholdings of the monastery is striking, for this term is a familiar one from late Antiquity, found in Armenian texts, including the *Buzandaran*, and deriving ultimately from the Middle Persian *dastkart*, meaning landed estate or plot.⁴⁷ It may therefore be the case that pre-existing patterns of settlement and property-division were retained but that new responsibilities were imposed. In other words the system of land tenure operating within the theme of Tarōn combined some features which predated the Byzantine annexation—the names of estates and hence their territorial definition—with new elements, specifically in relation to military recruitment.

No further evidence has yet come to light on how this system functioned or developed across Tarōn over the course of the following century. There is, however, one further piece of evidence which attests the extent of Tarōn's integration into the Byzantine administrative structures, and specifically the fiscal system. This dates from shortly before the battle of Manzikert in AD 1071 and the collapse of Byzantine interests in the east. A Gospels manuscript dated AD 1067/8 contains the following sworn statement:

In the name of God, we the *tanutērḳ'* of Mayraĵor, who are in this monastery of Saint...for the sake of the *demosion* [*dimosin*] of Lagnut and our allocation [*vičoyš*], which falls every year. We have had father Davit' bring the Cross and the Gospel; we have written in our...through grace and God, we have separated Ełrdut from Lagnut, which we have written in the registers of the *demosion* [*i č'ors dimosin veray*] and we have honoured through grace and God and through this holy Gospel; the plot [*čot'n*] of Anklvaritḳ' which is to Lagnut from Ełrdut, they give in exchange. The site of its mill is excluded. The registers of the *demosion* [*yays č'ork' dimosēs*] record this thing. God appoints the owner of the soil, not for its benefit. It also recalls Lagnut to add the plot [for *č'arn*, read *čot'n*] to these taxes [for *durs ta*, read *tursda*] of the *demosion*.

⁴⁶ These texts have been edited and translated in the same volume: E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 33 (Washington, D.C., 1995), 12–59 and 89–163.

⁴⁷ See N. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*, *Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies* 8 (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 520.

I, Davit' and the brothers of this community, we are witnesses of this testament, in era 516. It is established as God wishes.⁴⁸

Admittedly in several places, the precise meaning of this text is hard to discern and it is capable of different interpretations.⁴⁹ Several questions remain unresolved. For example, were there two parties to this transaction or just one party wishing to divide a single landholding into two properties, and if so, why? Nevertheless its significance for the study of eleventh-century Tarōn, and Byzantine provincial administration generally, should not be underestimated. It records a land transaction in two stages, involving the separation of Ērđut from Lagnut and the transfer of another plot from Ērđut to Lagnut, although possession of a mill on that plot is excluded from the transfer (and so retained in the portfolio of assets belonging to Ērđut). The deed was clearly intended to have legal force because it was drawn up and witnessed by father David and the brothers of the monastic community in front of a cross and Gospel book. But the most striking aspect is that the transaction was articulated in terms of liability for the *demosion*, the basic Byzantine land tax.⁵⁰ Both the separation of the two properties and the transfer of the plot are described as being recorded in the registers of the *demosion*. Indeed this deed displays a particular anxiety over the updating of the current registers; the fiscal consequences of the transaction are given considerable attention. Although this document is not an extract from a land-tax register or *cadaster*, it strongly suggests that the *demosion* was still being collected from monastic estates in Tarōn as late as 1067/8. The contention that the Byzantine fiscal system never extended across the eastern themes, or that it had collapsed in the face of Seljuk raiding long before this date, can no longer be maintained. Rather this short passage reveals a keen awareness that the transaction needed to be declared and recorded in the tax register, implying that these were still being updated just four years before Manzikert. But even if this is not the case, and the transaction was expressed using concepts and terms which were by then historic rather than

⁴⁸ Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeragreri Hišatakaraner*, no. 125 (M10099). Lagnut and Anklvar-itk' cannot be identified but Ērđut was located ten miles west of the city of Muš in Tarōn. It is likely that the monastery in question was Ērđutivank', dedicated to Surb Yovhannēs: M. Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères arméniens* (Turnhout, 1993), no. 365, which, however, only attests it from the twelfth century. Armenian era 516: 5 March 1067–3 March 1068. That such a deed was preserved in a Gospels manuscript is very surprising, unless one accepts that this was the Gospels manuscript on which the deed was sworn and that this single sheaf was accidentally left inside the manuscript. This could be evidence of mere oversight but it may also suggest that the transaction, so carefully recorded, rapidly lost meaning and significance and so was never transferred to a dossier of similar documents or searched for subsequently.

⁴⁹ For *i č'ors dimosin*, read *i šars dimosin*. The conclusion of the main section is also very hard to understand; it is possible that *ayl yišē* is a scribal interpolation, mistakenly repeating *ayl yišē* of the previous sentence.

⁵⁰ For a description of the workings of the taxation system, see L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society 950–1100* (Cambridge, 2004), 47–65.

current, this does not undermine the central proposition, that the *demosion* was collected from Tarōn after its annexation. Therefore although it is of a very different character to the *Cadaster of Thebes*, this neglected fragment confirms that the *demosion* was a universal tax which operated across the Empire, uniting themes in the east and the west.⁵¹ Moreover if one takes it at face value, this document confirms that the *demosion* continued to be collected—and the registers continued to be updated—right up to the moment of Byzantine eclipse and exclusion from Armenia.

The Byzantine annexation of Tarōn therefore entailed a political and social reordering of the entire region. With the departure of the lay elite, the traditional networks of power and authority were displaced and we have seen something of the administrative reconfiguration which followed. From an ecclesiological point of view, the flight of the local bishop Grigor, recorded in the colophon quoted above, was no less significant. An extensive search has not revealed any direct successor to Grigor. Indeed a notice in the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i only reinforces the impression of a lack of episcopal oversight. After the election of Step'anos of Sevan as Catholicos in 967/8, he is described as 'pastoring the western region of Armenia' and collecting together a multitude of monks from several western districts including Tarōn to take with him on his visit to Vaspurakan to reproach his recently deposed predecessor and rival, Vahanik.⁵² Both these actions, his 'pastoring the western region of Armenia' and gathering of monks in support, imply an absence of bishops to perform these tasks. After 967/8 there is no evidence for the gathering of Armenian bishops in general council and whilst arguments from silence are always problematic, the absence of such councils may reflect the contraction of the episcopate.

Conversely, one of the contemporary *Notitiae*, outlining the episcopal structure of the church of Constantinople, implies that Tarōn had obtained two or three new bishops by the end of the tenth century, under the oversight of the metropolitan of Keltzene, Kortzene, and Tarōn.⁵³ The newly established

⁵¹ N. Svoronos, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantine et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le Cadastre de Thèbes', *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* 83 (1959), 1–166; repr. in his *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London, 1973), no. III; Neville, *Authority*, 171–2.

⁵² Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'wn Tiezakan*, 756, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 233–4. Pastoring the western region of Armenia, *hovuēr zarewmteay kolmn Hayoc'*. The same passage records that Step'anos of Sevan was elected in Ani by *tēr* Xac'ik bishop of Aršarunik', father Polikarpos, leader of Kamrjajor, father Sargis, abbot of the monastery of Hořomos, and other bishops and many other fathers. The inclusion of abbots in the election process is striking.

⁵³ Notitia 10: Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 336: τὸ Μοῦς, ὁ Χοῦίτ, ὁ Χατζοῦν. A seal of Basil metropolitan of Keltzene, dated to the eleventh century, has been published: DOS IV, 66.1. Someone of the same name and office attended the council held at Hagios Alexios in Constantinople in AD 1072 and they are probably the same figure: See Basileios 181 and 20251 in *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (2011), available at <http://blog.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>, accessed 9 February 2014.

dioceses included one in the city of Muš and one in the region of Xoyt', south-east of Muš; it has been suggested that a third new see, that of Khatoun, was based on the village of Hac'iwñ, north-east of Muš, although a connection with a community named *Surb Xaç'*, Holy Cross, should not be discounted.⁵⁴ The exact dating of *Notitia* 10 is open to interpretation but the overall trend seems clear: the historic Armenian diocese of Tarōn disappeared and was replaced by several, smaller sees, at least one of which was situated in an urban context, all under the overall control of the patriarch of Constantinople.⁵⁵ Previously I had envisaged two overlapping networks of bishops stretched out across western and central Armenia, jostling for the hearts and minds of the faithful, and that may indeed have been the situation for a time in places like Sebasteia.⁵⁶ The evidence from Tarōn, however, suggests that the two hierarchies were consecutive rather than concurrent, that the new Byzantine dioceses superseded the former Armenian ones, and in so doing reconfigured the episcopal landscape. Even if the new bishops were local Armenians—and there is no way of telling since we do not know who anyone of them were, even by name—their dioceses represented a complete break with the past.

In order to gauge something of the response from within Tarōn to these changes, let us return to the *History of Tarōn*. As argued previously, the author of this composition chose to appropriate and refashion the narrative of the conversion of Armenia by St Grigor the Illuminator. The alterations serve to promote the antiquity and the sanctity of the monastery of Glak at Innaknean, at the expense of the traditional centre of Christianity in Tarōn, Aštišat.⁵⁷ Locating its origins in the time of, and through the initiative of, St Grigor the Illuminator gave the monastery of Glak an unimpeachable pedigree. But returning to this formative era also enabled the writer to reiterate—and reimagine—the historic ties between Armenia and the East Roman church, particularly in terms of ecclesiastical authority and oversight. Both recensions of the *History of Armenia* attributed to Agat'angelos—the

⁵⁴ R.H. Hewsen, *Armenia. A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001), 105.

⁵⁵ *Notitia* 10 is notoriously difficult to date: 'cette notice 10 n'a cessé de torturer les générations d'historiens qui l'ont consultée': Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 116. However, focusing on the long list of twenty-two sees, two clear groups emerge: 1–8, extending across Keltzene and Tarōn, and 11–22, further east, across Vaspurakan: Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 336. I would argue that the second group of fourteen was inserted after the annexation of Vaspurakan in 1021; therefore *Notitia* 10 was compiled after 966/7 and before 1021. The sees established in Vaspurakan include some in urban contexts—in τὸ Ἀρτζέσιον/Arčēš, Ἀμούκιον/Amiwk, τὸ Περκί/Perkri and τὸ Ὀστάν/Ōstan.

⁵⁶ For confrontation in Sebasteia in 435 AE (25 March 986–24 March 987), see Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwñ Tiezerakan*, 769–70, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 252.

⁵⁷ For the traditional narrative, see Agat'angelos, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrč'ean and S. Kanayean' (Tiflis, 1909; repr. Delmar, NY, 1980), §809–15, trans. R.W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2010), 417–25. Aštišat is identified in both the A and V recensions as the primary centre of pagan worship in Tarōn; there is no reference to Innaknean in any version of either recension.

standard narrative of the actions of St Grigor the Illuminator—report that Grigor was consecrated in Caesarea in Cappadocia by its metropolitan bishop Leontius; only *Vs* diverges from this tradition, making Leontius the patriarch of Rome, but even this version looks to the west for sanction and legitimisation.⁵⁸ It is striking that Grigor's ordination by Leontius in Caesarea is referred to in the first sentence of the *History of Tarōn*.⁵⁹ This establishes from the outset that the primary context for the following narrative is dependence on the imperial Church. The conversion narrative as constructed in the *History of Tarōn* both represents and justifies the radical transformations in religious hierarchy and sacred space experienced in Tarōn at the end of the tenth century. Admittedly that earlier transformation had entailed the banishing of demons and the appropriation of pagan shrines as places of Christian worship and these do feature in the account preserved in the *History of Tarōn*. The modifications to the conversion narrative, however, indicate that the author of the *History of Tarōn* wanted to establish that Tarōn had been incorporated into the ecclesiastical structures and traditions of the imperial church based in Constantinople during the era of St Grigor. In other words, the *History of Tarōn* generated historical precedent to validate present circumstances.

How was this relationship between Tarōn and the Roman church—this sense of dependence and belonging—articulated in the *History of Tarōn*? It has several aspects, many of which feature at the start of the work. The text opens with an exchange of letters between St Grigor the Illuminator and Leontius/Ľewondēos, the holy patriarch of Caesarea.⁶⁰ This is followed by a series of letters between Grigor and various bishops living and travelling in Roman space.⁶¹ By adopting an epistolary form, the narrative is framed in terms of reported action and response, with one party situated inside Tarōn and the other located inside the Roman Empire. Tarōn was therefore orientated westwards. Second, Grigor thanks Leontius for his gifts of the relics of John the Baptist which, Grigor explains, he has placed in a martyrion on the site of the pagan temple at Innaknean, together with relics of Athenogenes.⁶² The translation of these relics is reported in the *History of Agat'angelos* but the stress on the relics of John the Baptist being given by Leontius to Grigor

⁵⁸ Agat'angelos, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'*, §804–6, trans. R.W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory*, 404–10.

⁵⁹ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy*, 981, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 55–6.

⁶⁰ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy*, 981–90, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 55–61.

⁶¹ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy*, 990–8, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 61–8. Grigor writes to Eliazar bishop of Niwstra and Timot'ēos bishop of Akdēn and receives a letter back from Bektor and Anastas and T'ēovnas and Arkiwlas and Markelios, all of whom were then in Constantinople. The first two are described as Egyptian bishops.

⁶² Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy*, 982–4, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 56–7.

is a modification of the earlier tradition.⁶³ Since these were the key miracle-working relics in the possession of the monastery at Glak at the end of the tenth century, their origin is significant; they came from within the Roman Empire, specifically from the metropolitan of Caesarea. Third, Grigor reports to Leontius that he had left at Innaknean two living confessors of Christ, Anton and Krawnidēs, whom ‘you out of your love presented to this country of Armenia’.⁶⁴ This reveals that the metropolitan of Caesarea had supplied qualified clerics to minister in the newly founded martyrrium. And finally Grigor asks Leontius to send him more workers, specifically Efiazaros, the bishop of Niwstra (and brother of Zenob), and Timot’ēos the bishop of Agdēn, whose knowledge of literature is particularly prized.⁶⁵ According to the *History of Tarōn*, therefore, Grigor looked to Caesarea to supply additional bishops to advance the process of conversion. Moreover the Roman Empire was deemed to be a place of intellectual endeavour and achievement. Therefore this opening passage establishes multiple connections between the site of Innaknean and the metropolitan see of Caesarea. Not only was the martyrrium founded by Grigor who had been consecrated by Leontius; Leontius is also represented as sending his own clerics to conduct the services there and as being invited by Grigor to send more bishops. Their learning is noted approvingly, implying recognition and validation of Greek scholarship and erudition. The dependence of Innaknean, the site of the future monastery of Glak, upon the spiritual, human, and intellectual resources of Caesarea, and by extension the Roman Church, is therefore established.

The reply of Leontius to Grigor develops these themes. Leontius asks Grigor to write his name in his literature so that he might receive a share of blessing.⁶⁶ The metropolitan also directs Grigor to build a monastery at Innaknean and tells Grigor that he is sending Epiphanius, the pupil of Anton, and forty monks to start the community. Grigor is instructed to appoint Epiphanius as abbot.⁶⁷ Thus Leontius is portrayed providing leadership and resources for the new monastery. It also contains one other intriguing feature. Leontius urges Grigor to establish a coenobitic community with a perpetual rule under Epiphanius. The alternative, an eremitical structure, ‘each one building a

⁶³ Agat’angelos, *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’*, §810; trans. Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, 418–19. St Athenogenes/At’enaginēs was martyred in Sebasteia under Diocletian.

⁶⁴ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut’iwn Tarōnoy*, 984, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 57.

⁶⁵ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut’iwn Tarōnoy*, 984–5, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 57–8. Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, 68–9 notes the addition of the names of the assistants.

⁶⁶ *zim anun gresjir i k’o dprut’eand ew gres’ēs zi ew aynu masn awrhnut’ean ēnkalayc’ yet k’o*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut’iwn Tarōnoy*, 987, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 59.

⁶⁷ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut’iwn Tarōnoy*, 987–8, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 59.

temple to the Lord and living alone', is explicitly rejected.⁶⁸ Yet in his extended description of Armenian monasticism, of near contemporary date, Step'anos Tarōnec'i commends the eremitical life, highlighting a number of righteous individuals.⁶⁹ As Mahé has observed, 'On relève ainsi aux X^e-XI^e siècles, une indéniable diversité d'une communauté à l'autre, voire au sein d'une même communauté, où un seul style de vie religieuse ne semble pas s'appliquer obligatoirement à tous.'⁷⁰ Clearly there is a sharp difference of opinion between these two works on this subject which is not easy to interpret. It is possible that the prohibition may be echoing the well-known novel of Nikephoros II Phokas of AD 964 which sought to prevent the foundation of new monasteries, hostels, and homes for the old.⁷¹ Yet even this legislation made an exception for those who wished to found cells in deserted regions. It remains unclear why Leontius is presented as so disapproving of the eremitical life.

The opening passages therefore define multiple links between Caesarea and the foundation and development of the monastery of Glak. The role of Zenob the Syrian in these processes, however, is less obvious. We first encounter Zenob in the letter of Grigor the Illuminator to Leontius, where he is identified as the brother of Eliazaros who has been ordained by Grigor as bishop of the Mamikoneans.⁷² In his letter to Eliazaros, Grigor confirms that he had appointed his brother Zenob as bishop in the land of the Mamikoneans which included the regions of Innaknean, now renamed Glak.⁷³ But Grigor goes on to observe that Zenob was enthusiastic in his service to the relics of John the Baptist and that he had undertaken building work in stone at the monastery, including the building of the church. In a later passage, Zenob reports that 'I asked the holy Grigor to go to my monastery which he had established in the name of the Karapet.'⁷⁴ And Zenob is also placed at the head of the sequence of abbots of the monastery of Glak/Glakavank'.⁷⁵ Yet this sits very uneasily with

⁶⁸ *šinelov iwraċ'anč'iwr umēk' ztērut'ean tačarn ew ařancinn bnakel*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 988, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 60.

⁶⁹ 'How can we possibly describe in a few words the magnificently-embellished virtues of the hermits, those who shared the Cross with the crucified Christ...like the famous and praise-worthy Vardik...and the holy father Karmir': Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 752, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 228.

⁷⁰ J.-P. Mahé, 'Érémisme et Cénobitisme en Arménie après l'Islam (IX^e-XIII^e siècles), *Revue théologique de Kaslik* 3-4 (2009-10), 111-24, at 120.

⁷¹ Svoronos, *Novelles des Empereurs Macédoniens*, 151-61, trans. E. McGeer, *Land Legislation*, 92-6.

⁷² Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 985, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 57-8.

⁷³ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 991-2, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 62.

⁷⁴ *Isk im alač'eal zsurbn Grigor gnal i vansn im zor ink'n himnarkeac' yanun Karapetin*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 1030, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 92.

⁷⁵ *Zenob ekac' hayr vanac'n Glakay, ams 20*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 1045, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 104.

the notice that Leontius sent Epiphanius to Grigor with instructions to appoint him as abbot of the monastery at Innaknean.

These inconsistencies are not easily understood but there is evident uncertainty over whether Zenob should be treated as the first bishop of the Mamikoneans or the first abbot of the monastery of Glak, or both. The holding of both offices at the same time would be unprecedented from an Armenian perspective. It is striking, however, to observe that several of the new Byzantine dioceses established further east, in Vaspurakan following the departure of Senek'erim in AD 1021, appear to bear the names of pre-existing religious institutions. According to *Notitia* 10, we find, amongst others, the dioceses of Hagios Nikolaos, Hagios Georgios, and Hagios Elissaios.⁷⁶ This is unprecedented in the long list of dioceses recorded in the *Notitia*, all of which are located in urban centres or associated with specific districts of Armenia. A second see of Hagios Nikolaos is specifically associated with the city of Artzesin/Arčēš, on the northern shore of lake Van.⁷⁷ Two sees at Eva (Iban) and Sedrak (as yet unidentified) are also named Theotokos.⁷⁸ It is not clear whether these pre-existing institutions were major churches, martyria, or monastic communities, or any combination of these. However, the relationship between new imperial diocese and prior religious institution expressed in these titles seems to be remarkably close to that of bishop, martyrdom, and monastic community proposed in the *History of Tarōn*. Could it be that the author of the *Patmut'iwñ Tarōnoy* was seeking to associate that tradition—of founding new dioceses on existing religious institutions—with the era of Grigor the Illuminator as well as claiming it specifically for the monastery of Glak? A similar conjunction is reported by Step'anos Tarōnec'i at Xlat'/Hilāt on the northern shore of lake Van during the winter of 997/8.⁷⁹ Here there was 'an Armenian church outside the circuit wall which had become a bishop's residence and a monastery—previously it had been an Armenian community dedicated to Holy Cross and St Gamaliel'. In other words, an existing Armenian monastery had become a bishop's residence. This would seem to match the situation described in the *Notitia* at other urban centres on the shore of lake Van and, arguably, the conflation envisaged at Glakavank'. Whether or not the monastery of Glak really did become the seat of a new imperial see is less important than the assertion that it had been in the formative era.

The narrative offers one final reflection on the ecclesiastical situation in Tarōn. In his response to Grigor, Leontius reports that bishop Eliazaros had

⁷⁶ Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 336: ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, ὁ Ἅγιος Γεώργιος, ὁ Ἅγιος Ἐλισσαῖος. Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 545 identifies a monastery dedicated to Hagios Elissaios (Eliševank') with the monastery of S. Nšan of Č'arahan, today Gevaş (Vostan/Ostan). For one identification of Hagios Nikolaos, see Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 391, S. Nikolayos of Apahunik'.

⁷⁷ Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 336: τὸ Ἀρτζέσιν ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος.

⁷⁸ Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 336: τὸ Ἐβὰ ἢ Θεοτόκος, τὸ Σεδράκ ἢ Θεοτόκος.

⁷⁹ Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwñ Tiezerakan*, 817, trans. Greenwood, *Universal History*, 302.

fled from his city.⁸⁰ Grigor in turn writes to Eliazaros and asks him why he has fled 'to that foreign and remote land, especially as you knew that for every *gawar*, bishops are needed as well as priests...yet you yourself have taken so many priests and have dedicated yourself to a remote and distant journey'.⁸¹ The narrative is very tangled here but Grigor seems to be registering shock at the flight of a bishop and his priests. Given the proposed date of composition, this seems to be an allusion to the recent flight of Grigor, bishop of the Mamikoneans, from his see of Tarōn. Intriguingly Grigor then attempts to persuade him to return, offering all the lands of Ekeleac' and Hark' to him and all those who come with him, and hinting that Zenob might be prepared to give up the land of the Mamikoneans to him.⁸² In the event, neither of these invitations is taken up but Eliazaros does eventually return and is entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the relics of the Holy Apostles deposited in the martyrium at a site which is renamed Eliazaruvank', the monastery of Eliazaros.⁸³ Since we know nothing of the fate of bishop Grigor after his flight from Tarōn, it remains unclear whether these invitations reflect attempts to bring about his return or justifications for a return which has already taken place.

The study of the district of Tarōn has by convention been focused on the period leading up to its annexation in 966/7. On the basis of the above analysis, however, it seems that there is much more that may be said about conditions within Tarōn after that date. The displacement of the lay and clerical elite brought about a complete reworking of the structures of power and authority within the district. This can be viewed both in terms of the designation of Tarōn as a theme and the extension of the Byzantine episcopal network. As the *History of Tarōn* illustrates, this era of social and political upheaval opened up new opportunities for institutional and personal advancement. Monastic communities were well placed to take advantage of these circumstances. Not only did turmoil permit the consolidation of existing interests; it also allowed communities such as the monastery at Glak to claim ownership of the past, promoting its present reputation by asserting that it had played a primary role in the ministry of St Grigor the Illuminator and the conversion of Armenia. Monasteries were not only permanent

⁸⁰ *zi Eliazar gnac' i k'atak'en iwrmē p'axstakan*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 989, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 60.

⁸¹ *yawtar ew i taradēm yerkird ēndēr elēk' halacakan. Manawand zi gütēk' et'ē amenayn gawařac's episkoposk' pitoy en ew k'ahanayk's...Isk duk' aydč'ap' bazum k'ahanays ařeal taradēm ew heri ulegnac'ut'ean etuk' jez*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 991, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 62.

⁸² Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 991–2, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 62–3.

⁸³ Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 995–6, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 66.

features in a changing social and cultural landscape; they were also repositories of local historical memory, with profound implications for the preservation of the late Antique and medieval Armenian past. That urban communities across western and central Armenia may also have generated their own historical memories at this time has been considered elsewhere but the fact that Mušel Mamikonean could be titled ‘lord of Muš and Xoyt’⁸⁴ before being described as ‘prince of Tarōn and Sasun’ in the *History of Tarōn* suggests that a second, and no less significant, transformation in the balance and structure of Armenian society was underway by the end of tenth century, with status and identity now represented in terms of urban centres.⁸⁴ From princes and bishops to towns and monasteries, the annexation of Tarōn precipitated a radical social and cultural reconfiguration, one that was far more dynamic and constructive than the nineteenth-century fathers of Armenian history ever envisaged, and one that has repercussions for the study of eleventh-century Byzantium.

⁸⁴ *zMušel ztērn Mšoy ew Xut’ay, Tarawnoy išxann ew Sasnoy*: Yovhan Mamikonean, *Patmut’iwn Tarōnoy*, 1053, trans. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 111. For eleventh-century urban consciousness, see T.W. Greenwood, ‘Aristakēs Lastivertc’i and Armenian Urban Consciousness’, in *Being in Between: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow (Abingdon and New York, 2017), 88–105.

Byzantium in the Eleventh Century

General Reflections

James Howard-Johnston

In his highly personal and idiosyncratic account of life at the top, Michael Psellos, the leading writer of eleventh-century Byzantium, drew a sharp contrast between the military orientation and cultural austerity of Basil II's regime (976–1025) and the more relaxed and indulgent atmosphere of subsequent reigns.^{1,2} It was in the courts of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) and his successors that he and his fellow intellectuals flourished. They noted and approved of the greater attention paid to civil government, to patronage of the arts and to promotion of higher education.³ Whether or not there were significant cutbacks in military and naval expenditure, there can be no doubt that defence needs ceased to dominate the budget and that security no longer hovered over the thoughts of the governing elite. There was a clearly discernible loosening of the long-lasting, tense, clenched defensive stance of Byzantium, as it recovered something of its old imperial swagger.

No society can escape from its past, however carefree it may be in the present, however little attention it may give to looking back at its earlier self and its fortunes. In Byzantium's case there were two pasts which profoundly affected the thoughts and behaviour of the governing elite and the intelligentsia in the three decades of comparative peace and security (1025–57) following Basil II's death. The basic ideological drive of Byzantium came from its Late Antique imperial self. Its two essential characteristics, *romanitas* and the Christian faith, were inherited from that remoter past. With them came a

¹ I am most grateful to Nick Matheou for his comments on this chapter (and reassurance that it is on the right lines).

² Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, i.18, 22, 29–34, ed. and trans. D.R. Reinsch and L.H. Reinsch-Werner, *Leben der byzantinischen Kaiser (976–1075)* (Berlin, 2015).

³ P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 195–248; F. Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081* (Oxford, 2014), cc. 1–2, 5, 8.

determination to survive in dark days, with all the sacrifices entailed, and a whole range of aspirations—once again to bestride the world stage as a great player, to revive and develop the full range of classical arts and sciences, and to impress the surrounding powers with its majesty (manifest in its buildings and the pomp of secular and religious ceremonial). The more recent centuries of combat and dour resistance to assaults from without were no less important. What remained of the empire, after the Arab conquest of the Middle East and colonization of the Balkans by Slavs and Bulgars in the seventh century, bore little resemblance to its former sixth-century self, save for its fiscal armature. Cities shrank. Living standards declined sharply, not least because of efficient hoovering of surplus resources by the state. Much of the old governing class was pulled down into the humbler echelons of society. The Byzantine body politic which comes into view at the beginning of the age of revival in the middle of the ninth century was highly militarized. The social order had been changed out of all recognition, while the cultural effects of a prolonged military emergency were incalculable. Much of what happened in Byzantium's fleeting eleventh-century heyday can only be understood as part of a reaction to this grim past, when an imperial self-image had been overlaid by that of a beleaguered, latter-day chosen people.

The doyen of Byzantine Studies in the middle of the twentieth century, George Ostrogorsky, made much of the reaction. 'Byzantium', he wrote,

lived on the prestige won in the previous age and at home gave free play to all the forces making for disintegration...there began a time of comparative peace such as the Empire had hardly ever known...a time of internal relaxation which resulted in the break-up of the system inaugurated by Heraclius and maintained up to the end of Basil II's reign...the collapse of the military small-holdings proceeded at break-neck pace, thus undermining the imperial defences and the State's system of taxation...At first sight Byzantine history during the following years appears to be merely a confused chaos of court intrigue, but in reality its course was determined by the clash between the rival forces of the civil nobility of the capital and the military aristocracy of the provinces...Their (the civil aristocracy's) supremacy set the tone...characteristic developments of the period were the intellectual renaissance in the capital and the collapse of the military power of the Empire.⁴

Ostrogorsky's bold thesis has been nuanced, above all by the work of Paul Lemerle and the French school of Byzantinists.⁵ They have shown that there

⁴ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956), 283–4. The rivalry of military and bureaucratic elites was accepted by A.P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'ny sostav gospodstvujushchevo klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), revised and updated in A.P. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1997).

⁵ Lemerle, *Cinq études*; J.-C. Cheynet et al., *Le Monde byzantin, II L'Empire byzantin (641–1204)* (Paris, 2006).

was no sharp divide between civil and military, metropolitan and provincial aristocracies. Thus Jean-Claude Cheynet stresses the importance of intermarriage between the two groups and the consequent emergence of large and powerful hybrid affinities. Careers in government service could best be forwarded if members of powerful families had connections in both worlds. The insistence of Basil II that provincial magnates should have town houses in Constantinople helped the formation of such connections.⁶ Nor was there a sudden, swift collapse of the system of military landholdings (they were larger than *smallholdings*), but rather a steady decline in the number of serving soldiers recruited from the interior themes as the fighting receded into and beyond the old borderlands. It was in the interest of both parties, government and soldiers/marines, for money payments to be made in lieu of personal military service. As H el ene Ahrweiler argued over fifty years ago, this fiscalization of the *strateia*, the military obligation attached to military landholdings, was under way from the middle of the tenth century.⁷ It is still accepted, however, that the socio-economic position of peasantry worsened as the more powerful elements in society built up their landed estates, the main proviso of Kostis Smyrlis being that the rate at which this happened varied between regions and was in general slower than previously thought.⁸

There can be no gainsaying, however, the decline in Byzantium's fortunes internationally. In a single generation, from around 1050, Byzantium lost its position as one of the great powers of western Eurasia, on a par with, if not superior to, its nearby rivals (Fatimid Egypt and Ottonian Germany), and the two grand nomad states of central Asia (Ghaznavids in eastern Iran, Afghanistan and north-west India, and Karakhanids straddling the Tianshan mountains). It was stripped of much of its early medieval heartland in Anatolia by Turks and of all its southern Italian possessions by Normans. Its authority was also seriously challenged in the Balkans, by nomads from across the Danube and by Normans from across the Adriatic. It was a sorry, shrunken state which appealed for help to the West in the 1090s.⁹

⁶ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Transformations in Byzantine Society in the Eleventh Century, Particularly in Constantinople', Chapter 1 in this volume.

⁷ H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX-XIe si cles', *BCH* 84 (1960), 1-111, at 16-24.

⁸ K. Smyrlis, 'Social Change in the Countryside of Eleventh-Century Byzantium', Chapter 3 in this volume.

⁹ J. Shepard, 'Aspects of Byzantine Attitudes and Policy towards the West in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in J.D. Howard-Johnston, ed., *Byzantium and the West c.850-c.1200* (Amsterdam, 1988), 67-118, at 102-16; C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), 58-89; P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012), 87-100.

LEARNING AND THE ARTS

The most striking characteristic of eleventh-century Byzantium *was*, as Ostrogorsky noted, the new prominence enjoyed by the intelligentsia, the masters of words and reasoning (*hoi logoi*). They were more assertive than before, regarding positions in the apparatus of government as theirs by right *qua* wielders of reason and writers of elegant prose and verse. Rhetorical skill was the overt marker of intelligence and good education, and was expected to open the way to preferment, supplanting lineage, connections, and wealth. Figures such as John Mauropous, Constantine Leichoudes, Michael Keroularios, Christopher of Mitylene, the Xiphilinoi, Michael Attaleiates, and, above all, Michael Psellos were ready to advertise themselves, making sure that they were noticed at the time and subsequently. There had been previous reigns when imperial patronage was directed at learning and the arts, but we hear of those earlier programmes from outside, from the point of view of the imperial patrons, rather than from the beneficiaries themselves.¹⁰

Byzantium never jettisoned its classical heritage. There was no interruption to elementary or higher education. A high intellectual standard could be attained even in dark days of the long war for survival. Leaving aside Photios, who operated in the more benign environment of the middle and late ninth century,¹¹ the most conspicuous example comes from the second half of the eighth century, that of a high-flying civil servant, who was parachuted into the patriarchate (Nikephoros, patriarch 805–12). He could write good classicizing Greek, as he demonstrated in his short history of the recent past (a work of his youth), and was well versed in Aristotelian philosophy which he deployed to good effect later in life on theological argumentation in defence of icons.¹²

Imperial patronage of learning and the arts was resumed after the darkest decades when the war for survival was all-devouring. A succession of emperors and their close relatives—Theophilos (829–42), Caesar Bardas in the reign of his nephew, Michael III (842–67), above all Basil I (867–86), his son Leo VI the Wise (886–912), and grandson Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–59)—sponsored a programme of cultural renewal in many spheres—higher education, scholarship (involving the study of a wide range of classical texts, probably in emulation of the translation movement in the caliphate), law, history, art, architecture, and literature.¹³ There was some stuttering in

¹⁰ Bernard, *Writing and Reading*, 11–17, 41–53, 155–67, 293–9.

¹¹ P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: The First Phase* (Canberra, 1986), 205–35.

¹² P. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958), 56–9, 198–213.

¹³ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 171–346; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1986), 108–9; P. Magdalino, 'The Non-judicial Legislation of Leo VI', in S. Troianos, ed., *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius Byzantinum spectantia*, 1 (Athens, 1997), 169–82; I. Ševčenko, 'Re-Reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus', in J. Shepard and S. Franklin, eds, *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), 167–95; K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript*

this drive in the reigns of the three great military emperors of the late tenth and early eleventh century. Under the last of them, Basil II (976–1025), court sponsorship diminished after the disgrace of his great minister, the Chamberlain Basil Lekapenos, and seems to have been redirected at hagiography and homiletic literature. But the age of John Geometres and Symeon the New Theologian cannot possibly be classed as philistine.¹⁴

It follows then that the well-advertised commitment to learning and the arts of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) was simply the latest example of a regime's effort to burnish its image. Constantine made his cultural concern manifest in the prestige projects which he commissioned, the church of St George of Mangana in the capital and a new monastic foundation on Chios (Nea Mone), in the foundation of a new school of law (an ephemeral institution, planned around its first and only head, John Xiphilinos), and in the patronage which was remembered with gratitude by the intelligentsia.¹⁵ The real change was in the rate of growth, hitherto steady but modest, in the number of artists, architects, writers, and scholars at work in Byzantium. There was a marked acceleration after the death of Basil II, to judge by the number of individuals involved and known to us, reaching a peak in the reign of Manuel Komnenos when it has been estimated that a large number of intellectuals were trying to live off their wits and were vying for support from fifty to sixty patrons living in Constantinople.¹⁶ Even more significant was a change of mentality which became evident in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Writers and intellectuals became more aware of their individuality and readier to think for themselves. Inherited beliefs and practices weighed less. Hence the springing up of pockets of religious dissent, in the extreme form of dualistic belief, in the provinces as well as the capital.¹⁷ Hence the republican tinge to the ideas voiced by a highly placed judge, Michael Attaleiates (brought out by Dimitris Krallis)—namely, belief in the free operation of the market within the framework of the Roman state, acceptance of the legitimacy of political action and of the role of the crowd

Illumination (Chicago, 1971), 176–223 ('The Character and Intellectual Origin of the Macedonian Renaissance'); A. McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine: The Sources, Compilation, and Transmission of the Hippiatrica* (Oxford, 2007), 23–7, 259–61, 269–75.

¹⁴ C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (975–1025)* (Oxford, 2005), cc. 2–5; B. Crostini, 'The Emperor Basil II's Cultural Life', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), 55–80; M. Lauxterman, 'Byzantine Poetry and the Paradox of Basil II's Reign', in P. Magdalino, ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000* (Leiden, 2003), 199–216; J.M. Featherstone, 'Basileios Nothos as Compiler: The *De Cerimoniis* and *Theophanes Continuatus*', in J. Signes Codoñer and I. Pérez Martin, eds, *The Transmission of Byzantine Texts between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung* (Turnhout, 2014), 353–72.

¹⁵ C. Mango, 'Les monuments de l'architecture du Xie siècle et leur signification historique et sociale', *TM* 6 (1976), 351–65, at 354–5, 362–5; W. Conus-Wolska, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilinos sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 223–43, at 233–43.

¹⁶ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 331–56.

¹⁷ D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), c. 5.

as representative of the people, and stress on the overriding importance of the security of the state, whatever the unpleasant fiscal consequences.¹⁸ Hence the self-confidence of Michael Psellos, who was ready to grapple with Plato as well as Aristotle and to exercise reason over a wider domain than before.

Doubtless the assurance engendered by the camaraderie of reading and writing circles played a large part in the emergence of individuals from the crowd among the eleventh-century intelligentsia. A benign attitude on the part of the crown was also vital. That is presumably why Psellos wrote sycophantic letters to the two emperors least likely to patronize intellectuals, the two who took personal charge of military operations, Isaac Komnenos (1057–9) and Romanos Diogenes (1068–71), and why he was so assiduous in his courting of Caesar John Doukas, brother of Constantine X (1059–67).¹⁹ When the atmosphere of the court changed after the seizure of power by Alexios Komnenos in 1081 and a stricter adherence to Orthodoxy was expected—not unreasonably given all the evidence of God’s anger at the behaviour of Byzantines—there was no interruption in the flow of writings and orations from the intelligentsia, but there was less freedom of manoeuvre, more pressure to conform. Anna Komnene, a real intellectual herself, nourished on the works of the fathers of the church and Aristotle, homed in on the trials of John Italos and Nilos as key episodes in the crack-down on an excess of free thinking.²⁰

History was brought alive with portraits of the principal protagonists in the *Chronographia* of Psellos, his gossipy memoir of court life, rather more so than in the sober and wider-ranging narrative of Attaleiates. This biographical element became yet more important in the twelfth century in the works of Anna Komnene and her husband, Nikephoros Bryennios. Their two histories, his a preamble to a projected *Alexiad* of his own which presents a masterly account of the ten disastrous years preceding Komnenian coup (Caesar John Doukas looms large), and her *Alexiad* (a revision, completion, and embellishment of his) demonstrate that the individual with his or her particular qualities and interests continued to be viewed as the prime driver of events on earth. All manner of men and women cross the pages of their texts, solid embodied figures, who make their characters manifest in speech, gesture, and action. Both texts are enlivened again and again by scenes in which living human beings perform before our eyes. These extended anecdotes resemble

¹⁸ D. Krallis, ‘The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates’, Chapter 2 in this volume.

¹⁹ K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothekē*, V (Venice-Paris, 1876), letters 3, 6, 69, 81, 161; E. Kurtz and S. Drexler, eds, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, II *Epistulae* (Milan, 1941), nos 5, 156, 215. Cf. M. Jeffreys and M.D. Lauxtermann, eds, *The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford, 2017), 419–20, 424.

²⁰ R. Browning, ‘Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *PP* 69 (1975), 3–23, at 11–23; Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, 382–412; L. Neville, *Anna Komnene: The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (New York, 2016), 113–31.

cinematic takes of action by individuals, moving pictures quite distinct from the fine still portraits of certain key protagonists also to be found in the *Alexiad*.²¹

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TOWN LIFE

The favourable cultural environment which fostered art, literature, and learning in eleventh-century Constantinople was itself underpinned by a marked improvement in economic circumstances since the dark days of the eighth century. Gibbon's notion of a rich, commercial Byzantium, ready to spend treasure on recruiting surrogates to fight on its behalf or on buying off potential enemies, ceases for a while to be the fantasy that it was in the previous four centuries.²² A steady increase in the money supply provides incontrovertible evidence that economic growth began in the first half of the ninth century and was sustained for more than two centuries.²³

The most likely trigger for a sudden increase in the output of copper folles in the reigns of Michael II and Theophilus (first documented by Michael Metcalf fifty years ago) was realization that market activity in the provinces, which had not received much of the limited output of the Constantinopolitan mint since the reign of Constans II (641–69), was being seriously hampered by shortage of the low denomination medium of exchange. Growth in the base copper coin-stock continued thereafter, as the amount of new coin injected into the economy went on rising, peaking with the issue, on a massive scale, of two anonymous series in the late tenth and early eleventh century.²⁴ In contrast to the copper coinage, the gold nomisma, the medium of exchange for high-value transactions, served as a compact store of wealth. There had been no steep drop in the size of annual issues on a par with that of copper issues in the late seventh century. So there was no immediate need for increased issues as economic recovery began in the ninth century. It was in the middle of the tenth century that the amount of gold in circulation, replenished after the payment of taxes by the minting of new coins, probably

²¹ J. Howard-Johnston, 'Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe, eds, *Alexios I Komnenos* (Belfast, 1996), 260–302, at 282–8.

²² J.D. Howard-Johnston, 'Gibbon and the Middle Period of the Byzantine Empire', in R. McKitterick and R. Quinault, eds, *Edward Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge, 1997), 53–77, at 61–4, 67–71.

²³ A.E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), 70–91, 115–55.

²⁴ D.M. Metcalf, 'The Folles of Michael II and Theophilus before his Reform', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 21 (1967), 21–34, at 31; *idem*, 'The Reformed Folles of Theophilus: Their Styles and Localization', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 14 (1968), 121–53, at 148–9; *idem*, 'Monetary Recession in the Middle Byzantine Period: The Numismatic Evidence', *Num.Chron.* 161 (2001), 111–55 at 113–15.

began to act as brake on enterprise and capital formation, prompting the government to take action.²⁵ It was at the end of the personal rule of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (945–59) and over the following fifteen years that there was a *tripling* in the annual gold output of the imperial mint. This went hand in hand with a very slight debasement, the percentage of gold in a nomisma dropping from 97 per cent to 94 per cent. Further large increases in output followed in the eleventh century, under Romanos III Argyros (1028–34) and, together with a second controlled devaluation of the nomisma (to 87 per cent gold), under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). Monetary expansion was again tracking economic growth.²⁶

There can be no gainsaying of this hard numismatic evidence. It would be good, though, if there were corroboration from another form of hard evidence, often adduced to document economic growth—namely, archaeological evidence of increased building activity, and, in particular, of the construction of public monuments and places of worship. That, alas, is not possible in the case of Byzantium. The monumental centres of late Roman cities constituted the core of the heavily fortified, shrunken towns which had survived the ravages of time and enemies in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. They could still serve as satisfactory venues for the conduct of administration and worship in the tenth and eleventh centuries. There was no pressing need therefore to lay out new ceremonial quarters, or to construct cathedrals, courthouses, and government buildings. The old elites who had funded prestige projects in the past were long gone, their successors to be found in the countryside. The only evidence of reviving prosperity takes the form of modest expenditure on refurbishment of church interiors, in particular, as Philipp Niewöhner shows, on replacement of the wooden epistyles of templon screens with carved marble beams, and of finds of fine glazed tableware, pointing to the emergence (but on what scale?) of a Byzantine analogue to the urban bourgeoisie in Islamic lands.²⁷ Better evidence of new construction comes from the countryside.

²⁵ This not to suggest that Byzantine regimes used monetary policy to stimulate growth but that they were made aware, by interested parties, that shortage of specie was a growing constraint on the larger-scale mercantile activity, as well as inhibiting the build-up of liquid capital by the wealthy and powerful.

²⁶ C. Morrisson, 'La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XIe siècle: essai d'interprétation', *TM* 6 (1976), 3–47, at 4–13, 17–20; F. Füeg, *Corpus of the Nomismata from Anastasius II to John I in Constantinople* (Lancaster, PA, 2007), 168–9; C. Morrisson, 'Revisiter le XIe siècle quarante ans après: expansion et crise', in B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet, eds, *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, *TM* 21.2 (2017), 611–25, at 618–25.

²⁷ S.D. Goitein, 'The Rise of the Middle-Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Islamic Times' and 'The Mentality of the Middle Class in Medieval Islam', *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 217–54; J. Vroom, *After Antiquity—Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C.: A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece*, Archaeological Studies Leiden University 10 (Leiden, 2003), 58–64, 145–50, 192–3, 231–3; *eadem*, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean: An Introduction and Field Guide* (Utrecht, 2005), 66–81; P. Niewöhner,

Striking new churches were built, for example, Çanlı Kilise and Üçayak in central Anatolia, Daphne and Hosios Loukas in Greece.²⁸ The finest secular buildings of the Middle Byzantine period—houses with courtyards, dining halls, chapels, stables, and other outbuildings—were also to be found outside the towns. They were places where the powerful, from local gentry through regional aristocrats to imperial magnates, displayed their wealth and status, entertained, ran their estates, great and small, and managed their more or less ramified networks of connections. But of these country houses, of which we are informed by several texts, only a handful of modest examples have been found—carved into the soft tufa of Cappadocia.²⁹

We must turn instead to the most mundane detritus of the past, clusters of sherds of broken coarse pottery which serve as roughly datable indicators of human settlement. Surface surveys have been carried out in selected areas of Byzantine territory. The Laconia survey, for example, yielded evidence of accelerating growth in all types of settlement from the ninth to the twelfth century.³⁰ Confirmation of demographic growth in the countryside comes from the study of pollen deposits in lake sediments. There was a definite increase in the impact of man on the natural environment in different regions of Anatolia in the course of the ninth–twelfth centuries. Stockraising and agriculture were reviving after a period of depression following the end of antiquity. There was more arboriculture, yielding olive oil, fruit, and nuts.³¹ A substantial growth in population would explain why there was a trend, first discernible in the tenth century and documented archaeologically in Laconia from the eleventh, for villagers to leave and establish separate farmsteads. Some, we are told, might do so because they belonged to large families and inherited land at some distance from the village, others because they were well-off and preferred to move out and build houses, unconstrained by immediate neighbours, on outlying properties of theirs.³²

'What Went Wrong? Decline and Ruralization in Eleventh-Century Anatolia: The Archaeological Record', Chapter 5 in this volume.

²⁸ E. Diaz and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Loukas and Daphni* (Cambridge, MA, 1931); R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, D.O. Studies 42 (Washington, D.C., 2005), 17–76; M. Mihaljević, 'Üçayak: A Forgotten Byzantine Church', *BZ* 107 (2014), 725–54.

²⁹ Ousterhout, *Byzantine Settlement*, 79–114, 141–55, 170–84; R.G. Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 2017), 279–94, 305–6, 313–41, 351–9.

³⁰ P. Armstrong, 'The Survey Area in the Byzantine and Ottoman Periods', in W. Cavanagh, J. Crowel, R.W.V. Catling, and G. Shipley, eds, *The Laconia Survey: Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape*, I, *ABSA* suppl. 26 (Athens, 2002), 339–402, at 353–68.

³¹ A. Izdebski, *A Rural Economy in Transition: Asia Minor from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, Suppl. 18 (Warsaw, 2013), 145–215.

³² The evidence for the trend comes from an instruction manual written for trainee clerks in the fiscal administration—the *Marcian Treatise*, ed. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 9

Demographic expansion documented for the countryside cannot but have affected the towns. Positive evidence of this is provided by narrative sources, histories, and saints' lives. In the second half of the eleventh century we catch the first glimpses of a medieval analogue to the urban notable of Late Antiquity. As the grip of the imperial authorities loosened over Anatolia, especially after the battle of Manzikert, towns began to play a part in regional affairs. Their ability to negotiate with outsiders, whether a Byzantine general or a Norman condottiere or a Turkoman raiding band, testifies to the emergence of a new group of leaders, the *archontes* who would, in the twelfth century, play an increasingly important part in Greek and Balkan affairs.³³ The *archontes* formed a distinct interest group, of which we might have expected the crown to make use in its management of the provincial aristocracy in the tenth century, but they do not seem to have gained the necessary political weight in the localities before the second half of the eleventh century.

It was in Constantinople, by far the largest city in Byzantium, that politically significant changes are documented in the eleventh century. As the capital of a revitalized and expanding state, above all as one of two great trading entrepôts in the eastern Mediterranean (the other being Alexandria), Constantinople profited greatly from the economic recovery under way from the ninth century, with an influx of wealth and population.³⁴ By the middle years of the eleventh century, three important interest groups had achieved new prominence. There were the upper echelons of the civil bureaucracy, notably the judges who had taken over the administration of the interior themes and who were first admitted into the Senate en masse in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, thereby gaining enhanced status and the substantial state emoluments which went with high rank. A second category of men in government service comprised different grades of managers of crown lands and, presumably, their equivalents in the service of court magnates. Third and most important, the *people* emerged as a serious political force of which emperors and governments had to

(Leipzig–Berlin, 1927), 115.24–38. The absence of any reference to the roles of judges (*kritai*) and special investigators (*anagrapheis*) or to the problems created by debasement of the coinage points to a date before the eleventh century and probably in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–59)—see Ostrogorsky, *History*, 192, n. 2, *contra* N. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)* (Athens, 1996), 44–5 (first half of twelfth century). Laconia: P. Armstrong, 'Greece in the Eleventh Century', Chapter 6 in this volume.

³³ See, for example, *Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor*, ii.8 (Ankyra), ii.22–3 (Amaseia), iii.16–17 (Nikaia), ed. and trans. P. Gautier, CFHB 9 (Brussels, 1975). General: M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (2nd ed., London, 1997), 90–2, 176–7, 280–6.

³⁴ G. Dagron, 'The Urban Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries', in Laiou, *Economic History of Byzantium*, II, 393–461.

take account (as Attaleiates acknowledged approvingly). Several components may be distinguished in the *people*—lower-ranking civil servants, senior retainers in the palace and aristocratic households, and members of numerous trade associations (the Byzantine equivalent of the Muslim *bazaar*, comprising a whole range of artisans, traders, and merchants).³⁵ Emperors had always been aware of the potential power of the *people*—hence the elaborate arrangements which had long been in place for ensuring plentiful and reasonably priced foodstuffs—but now that potential was realized much more frequently than in the past, as popular concerns were publicly voiced, demonstrations took place, changes of policy were forced on regimes, and emperors could be made and unmade.³⁶

There were two other developments which had an even greater impact on the body politic. First, as war and the demands of war lost their pre-eminent place among the concerns of government, and the conduct of affairs in what was a partially reconstituted empire passed increasingly into the hands of the civil administration, the nexus of Constantinopolitan families which provided much of the senior personnel for central ministries assumed greater political importance and, as Psellos observed, formed a civil, metropolitan counterweight to the longer-established, provincial aristocracy, which had risen primarily through the military. Second—and this is a central argument of Cheynet's—the two categories of *powerful* sought each other out, each appreciating the value of allies in the other camp. Inter-marriage and political alliances created new high-level networks, capable of challenging and bringing down regimes almost bloodlessly (with the notable exceptions of Isaac Komnenos' coup in 1057 and of the Doukas usurpation in 1071). The crown was more constrained than it had ever been since the early days of the Principate.³⁷

The question now arises as to whether this shift of power in favour of hybrid nexuses of civil and military families had ramifications in the countryside, whether the relatively unrestrained competition for land and wealth among provincial post-holders and ex-post-holders reported in the tenth century spread to the metropolitan elite in the eleventh, whether the peasantry who formed the great majority of the population and whose labours were vital for maintaining the state's resource-base were unable to hold on to their lands and were turned in increasing numbers into dependent tenantry. That was the central question of Middle Byzantine history for Ostrogorsky. It remains central in the early twenty-first century.

³⁵ Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 67–8, 94–8; Cheynet, 'Social Change'.

³⁶ S. Vryonis, 'Byzantine *Δημοκρατία* and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century', *DOP* 17 (1963), 287–314; cf. A. Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 2015), 118–64.

³⁷ Cheynet, 'Social Change'.

LAND OWNERSHIP

The notion of a Byzantine version of western feudalism has been thoroughly scotched over the last sixty years, there being no question of the disappearance of the public sphere nor of the state's so neglecting the law as to give the *powerful* licence to deprive their tenants of access to the courts.³⁸ Still, there can be plenty of oppression in the countryside without the development of a pyramidal power structure reaching down from the crown to the cultivator of the land (rights being granted in exchange for support). The question then becomes this: Was there wholesale social change in Byzantium, on a par with that which was taking place in much of western Europe in the eleventh century and left an indelible mark on the pattern of settlement? Did the *powerful* break free of legal restraints and force peasant villagers, the *poor*, into their clientages, in the process taking over their property rights? Was much of the new wealth concentrated in aristocratic hands and used to buy out small proprietors or to browbeat them into subordination, as happened in Catalonia with the inflow of Arab gold? Did aristocratic families, already well rooted in the themes, claim a proper reward for their victorious military efforts in the past, and impose their authority on their humbler neighbours, almost as if they were a conquering elite like the Normans in England?

Before turning to examine the evidence, which is sparse and unsatisfactory, it is worth standing back and considering some general issues. First and most important, there is no reason to suppose that *pleonexia*, man's acquisitive appetite, so manifest in the *powerful* in the tenth century, shrivelled up in the eleventh, nor that the resources of which they disposed—whether human, in the form of retainers ready to use violence against recalcitrant peasants, or material, in the form of ready cash—had diminished. It follows then that eleventh-century Byzantium was not exempt from what may be regarded as a natural social trend in settled agrarian societies, for the influential and the rich to advance at the expense of the humble and poor. Second, though, the powers of resistance of peasant village society should not be underestimated. In the case of Byzantium, it was surely no accident that the great military families built up their main estates in the Anatolian interior, a big country, relatively treeless, in which villages were scattered in small clusters on pockets of fertile, well-watered land (principally the *ovalar*, depressions, in river valleys). It was natural ranching country, where wealth in the form of livestock could be built up rapidly. It had been a theatre of war, so that the status of the *powerful* with their military backgrounds was heightened and could be put to use to extend

³⁸ P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway, 1979), 242–8.

and intensify their local influence. There the peasant village was peculiarly vulnerable to depredation, unlike villages elsewhere.³⁹

The Mediterranean village was more impervious to pressure from without, above all because of the strong sense of communal identity created by the intertwining of its inhabitants' activities and the intermingling of their properties. A benign climate made it possible to engage in several sorts of agricultural activity—raising livestock, arboriculture (chiefly of the olive), viticulture, vegetable production, and, above all, cultivation of grain. It was in the interest of each family to have as varied a portfolio of assets as possible. When it came to inheritance, which was partitive under Roman law, each of the children would want to have an equal share of each type of asset. The pattern of landholding in a village was consequentially that of an ever-changing mosaic of parcels of land, intermarriage acting as a counter to inheritance. It was the intermingling of individual plots and fields, not to mention the presence of sheep, cattle, and dogs, that bound villagers together and made it natural for government to designate the village as the basic fiscal unit, with collective responsibility for the payment of taxes. Such cohesive small societies were hard for the *powerful* to penetrate and take over.⁴⁰

If there was serious resistance to be expected in the coastlands of Asia Minor and Greece, the prospects were worse for the extension and consolidation of large estates in the highlands of Anatolia (a large component of the peninsula) and of the Balkans. Such *terres d'insolence* (to use the French colonial term picked up by the great Xavier de Planhol) had proved difficult for the Romans to pacify, and can be seen to have remained refractory in late antiquity.⁴¹ It is highly unlikely that highland villagers would have lost any of their independence in the years of conflict with Arabs and Bulgars (when their able-bodied young formed a vital resource for the beleaguered state) or that they would have succumbed to the *powerful* thereafter. The art of local government in antiquity and the Middle Ages in much of Byzantine territory was that of managing and retaining the loyalty of the highlanders.

There was another inhibiting factor on the growth of large estates—the justice system and the law. Tenth-century emperors had strengthened village defences (secured from late antiquity by pre-emption rights given to kin,

³⁹ J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 213–19, 223–4, 227–8.

⁴⁰ Cf. J.D. Howard-Johnston, 'Social Change in Early Medieval Byzantium', in R. Evans, ed., *Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston* (Woodbridge, 2004), 39–50, at 43–4, 47–8; M.T.G. Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era* (Oxford, 2015), 195–231.

⁴¹ X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam* (Paris, 1968), 39–43, 59–62, 197–8, 205–9; K. Hopwood, 'Consent and Control: How the Peace was Kept in Rough Cilicia', in D.H. French and C.S. Lightfoot, eds, *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, BAR Int.Ser. 553, 2 vols (Oxford, 1989), I, 191–201.

neighbours, and fellow-villagers) by prohibiting the *powerful* from acquiring any land from the *poor*, whether by sale, gift, or bequest, let alone coercion. Their title to any property was only secure if they could provide proof of ownership which went back before the great famine of 927–8, while the peasantry automatically acquired property rights after thirty years of possession. Perfectly legal contracts of sale made after 927–8 were abrogated if one of the parties was *poor* and the other was *powerful*.⁴² These laws were enforced by the courts in the eleventh century. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the small sample of cases dealing with landed property (those which raised interesting points of law) summarized in the *Peira* of the Magistros Eustathios Romaios, a great judge active in the first third of the century.⁴³ With a single exception, a measure introduced by Basil II towards the end of his reign, placing the obligation for making good any deficit in tax paid by a village on the *powerful* of the neighbourhood, which was judged inequitable and abrogated under Romanos III Argyros, the tenth-century legislation remained in force and was strengthened—for example, by a ruling that the *poor* should retain contested property during legal proceedings and by the practice of using old tax registers to track property rights.⁴⁴ As for the use of force, the justice system cracked down hard on members of the elite, including members of the high-ranking Skleros family, who brought pressure to bear on the *poor* through bands of retainers, free and slave, and forced them to cede property.⁴⁵

Lemerle's school of Byzantinists undoubtedly has been right to view Byzantium as a strong state, at least in medieval terms, possibly even as one capable of reshaping the pattern of settlement in a distant province (as has been argued for Apulia in the tenth and eleventh centuries).⁴⁶ Certainly, with the fiscal capability inherited from late antiquity and, if anything, sharpened in the centuries of grim defensive warfare, Byzantium had an apparatus of government fully capable of managing provincial affairs, of apprehending and punishing the predatory *powerful* when they broke the law, and of redressing wrongs. There is no solid evidence to impugn *in general* the professional

⁴² N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994); E. McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Toronto, 2000). Cf. Lemerle, *Agrarian History of Byzantium*, 85–108; R. Morris, 'The Powerful and the Poor', *PP* 73 (1976), 3–27; M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 414–39.

⁴³ C.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, eds, *Practica ex actis Eustathii Romani* (hereafter cited as *Peira*), *Jus graeco-romanum*, I (Leipzig, 1856), 8.1, 9.1–6, 9.9–10, 14.22. Cf. N. Oikonomides, 'The "Peira" of Eustathios Romaios: An Abortive Attempt to Innovate in Byzantine Law', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), 169–92, repr. in N. Oikonomides, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade* (Aldershot, 1992), no. XII.

⁴⁴ *Peira*, 15.10, 40.12.

⁴⁵ *Peira*, 42.17–19.

⁴⁶ J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 179 (Rome, 1993), 255–72.

competence and probity of tax officials. The new regime of Alexios Komnenos shared the confidence of Eustathios Romaios in the reliability of tax registers down to the smallest details, and was able to cut back large monastic estates to accord with their tax liabilities.⁴⁷

As for the judiciary itself, there was doubtless corruption, which it is hard to eradicate completely from court systems. That jaundiced observer of the world, Kekaumenos, claimed to know of many guilty parties who paid bribes and escaped justice, while innocent people were wrongly convicted. He tacked this observation of his onto a passage in which he urged theme judges to refuse bribes and to ignore the claims of friendship.⁴⁸ On the other hand, there is evidence for the probity of the judiciary. It comes from the many letters (some 40 per cent of his extant correspondence) written by Michael Psellos to provincial judges, of whom he had once been one. Most date from the reign of Constantine X Doukas (1059–67). Psellos recommends individuals for appointment to their staffs, asks them to give all backing possible to theme tax inspectors, commends a travelling monk as an entertaining companion, asks for generous treatment of monasteries under his management, and brings up a few specific cases but without applying pressure, let alone moral blackmail or political threats. He may reiterate the argument put forward by a litigant whom he knows (normally but not always classifiable as *powerful*), but does not go further in trying to influence the judge's decision. This large dossier of letters, constituting almost certainly but a small proportion of those actually written to provincial judges from different quarters, presupposes the existence of an *esprit de corps* among judges in the second half of the eleventh century, a pride in their professionalism as guardians of Roman law, which would have acted as a counterweight to the pull of corruption. It does not look as if Psellos himself, even in the heyday of his influence at court, sought to pervert the administration of justice.⁴⁹

The documentary evidence, limited and geographically dispersed though it may be, testifies to the resilience of the peasantry in most regions of the Byzantine world, not so much through positive evidence about them as indirectly through what is reported about the constitution of large estates. The key feature of such estates in the eleventh century was their *dispersed*

⁴⁷ K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grand monastères byzantins (fin du Xe-milieu du XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 42, 48, 53–4, 175.

⁴⁸ G.G. Litavrin, ed. and trans., *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena: sochinenie vizantijskovo polkovodca XI v.* (Moscow, 1972), 126.26–30, 128.1–23, 28–9, 130.1–3.

⁴⁹ Jeffreys-Lauxtermann, *Letters of Psellos*, 435–45. Cf. J.-C. Cheynet, 'L'administration provinciale dans la correspondance de Michel Psellos', in M.D. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow, eds, *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between* (Abingdon, 2017), 45–59. But see G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich, 1973), who has a lower opinion of the judiciary, and Z. Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056* (Cambridge, 2017), 67–70 who argues, from Psellos' letters, for a greater degree of malleability in the administration of justice.

character. There was no such thing as a *latifundium*, any more than there had been in the east Roman Empire in late antiquity where extant records (inscriptions and papyri) show us that landowners in the Aegean coastlands of Asia Minor and in Egypt could not merge individual holdings into whole tracts of land under their ownership. Senatorial aristocrats might be able to carry the process of consolidation further than city notables, building up larger local blocks or clusters of properties, but the main component parts of their estates remained separate. What they could do was to concentrate their labour force, in the form of slaves (*paidaria*), tenants (*georgoi*), and draught-animals, so as to improve its effective deployment.⁵⁰ The same general pattern characterized large estates in the eleventh century, as is well documented in the case of the substantial estate (totalling somewhat over 751 hectares) near Miletus which was given to Caesar John Doukas' son Andronikos in 1073. According to the detailed survey made at the time, it consisted of (1) a domanial holding around the estate centre at Baris (a house with dining hall, bath-house, chapel, stables, and, presumably, barns for the stocks of wheat, barley, linseed, and beans which are recorded), (2) dispersed holdings around four villages in the Maeander plain, and (3) other holdings on the shore of Lake Bafa to the south. This complex of properties seems to have been built up by the Parsakoutenos family (recorded as former owners of the estate centre) before being confiscated by the crown and incorporated into the Miletos division (*episkepsis*) of crown lands, from which it was then removed in 1073.⁵¹

A similar pattern of fragmentation, the units being smaller, often much smaller, is documented for the properties of the middling sort of landowner, such as the family of the *protopapas* Nikephoros living in the small town of Hierissos not far from Athos in the eleventh century. The family's property, as Kostis Smyrlis shows, consisted of several vineyards and several large to medium-sized fields in the town's territory. Their analogues in Apulian towns had, if anything, even less success in consolidating their properties, to judge by the estate of a notable of Noicattaro which at the time of his death in 1025 consisted of the nineteen parcels of land or by the portion of their estate which a judge of Civitate and his son donated to Tremiti in 1059, comprising eight-and-a-half churches and other properties.⁵² The best evidence, though, comes from a unique document recording the small parcels of land, almost all owned by middling officials or relatives of middling officials, in the vicinity of Thebes towards the end of the eleventh century. It is evidently an extract from the local tax register, which picked out the middling proprietors, presumably

⁵⁰ P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006), 50–70, 86–8; P. Thonemann, 'Estates and the Land in Late Roman Asia Minor', *Chiron* 37 (2007), 435–78.

⁵¹ E. Vranousi and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, eds, *Byzantina engrapha tes mones Patmou*, 4 vols (Athens, 1980), I, no. 1 and II, no. 50, with P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2011), 259–69.

⁵² Martin, *La Pouille*, 301; Smyrlis, 'Social Change in the Countryside'.

because they did not live on their parcels and paid their taxes at their place of residence (noted as Athens or Thebes in one or two cases). It was surely in Corinth, which is not mentioned but which was at the time capital of the united themes of Hellas and Peloponnese, that the great majority, for whom no place of residence is noted, was living and paying taxes. The document should be viewed as intermediate between a *cadaster*, a geographically based register of properties, owners, and tax liabilities, and a *praktikon* listing all the properties and tax liabilities of an individual.⁵³

There is scattered evidence of greater consolidation of landholdings in the case of the most powerful landowner of all, the crown. It is hard to envisage the series of *episkepseis* strung out around the Balkan coast and on or close to the Via Egnatia, which were of special interest to the Venetians around 1200, as loose clusters of medium-sized holdings (more likely in the case of regional *curatoriae* set up in the tenth century to manage lands vacated by Muslims and appropriated by the crown in the territory of former Arab emirates in the east and south-east).⁵⁴ Certainly the crown lands in Macedonia given to the Magistros Gregory Pakourianos in the eleventh century were in three consolidated blocks around Philipopolis, Mosynopolis, and the mouth of the Strymon river.⁵⁵ A fair amount of consolidation could also be achieved by institutional landowners if they had the strong backing from the state and if they concentrated acquisitions in areas disrupted by enemy raids and devastation. To the familiar examples of Athos monasteries in the tenth century may be added that of the metropolitan see of Reggio around the year 1050, which, in addition to rights acquired over other church institutions, owned ten villages (*choria*), eight detached estates (*proasteia*), thirteen clerical plots (*idiaria*), and seventeen monasteries (with *their* properties).⁵⁶

The historian must search for the human equivalent of dark matter in the social order to explain this peculiar phenomenon of the limited agglomeration of land into dispersed blocks or clusters of holdings. The problem is created by the bias in the documentary record, derived as it is almost entirely from

⁵³ N. Svoronos, 'Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes', *BCH* 83 (1959), 1–145.

⁵⁴ G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Fontes rerum Austriacarum II.12.1 (Vienna, 1856), 258–72, 278–80 (Alexios III's chrysobull of 1198); *Partitio terrarum Imperii Romaniae* (1204), lines 26–70, ed. A. Carile, *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 217–22. Cf. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel Komnenos*, xxii (map 2), 160–71.

⁵⁵ Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos (December 1083), ed. P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos', *REB* 42 (1984), 5–145, trans. J. Thomas and A.C. Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, D.O. Studies 35, 5 vols (Washington, D.C., 2000), II, 507–63. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 113–91; Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 83–4.

⁵⁶ A. Guillou, ed., *Le Brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)* (Rome, 1974), lines 337–446 (pp. 185–94, trans. pp. 58–71).

monastic archives.⁵⁷ Without lay charters or court records or detailed local *cadasters*, very little hard evidence can be found about middling and small landed proprietors. It is unsafe to extrapolate from what little is recorded. Literary sources too have very little to say about the humbler classes in town and country, and may give the quite misleading impression that society in the provinces and the imperial capital consisted largely of aristocratic households and their ramified connections, since they are the chief protagonists in political narratives. Byzantinists are blinkered by their sources, far more so than historians of late antiquity who can track the actions of city elites and village leaderships and observe something of their impact on the power play and rivalry of aristocratic families in the localities. The countervailing forces which inhibited the coagulation of land in Byzantium are much more elusive.

Urban elites played little part in this constraining of the *powerful* before the middle of the twelfth century, when they were well enough established to be able to exert influence outside the city and its immediate suburbs.⁵⁸ Competitors from within the broad class of *powerful*, whether greater or lesser or of roughly equal means and status, were more important, assuredly preventing would-be buyers from obtaining many of the pieces of land which might have filled out and eventually joined up their existing properties. This was the key factor in the metropolitan region. Further afield in the themes, interventions by the *powerful* in the market would also have clashed with each other at times, but the main forces impeding consolidation of estates came from the state's justice system and cohesive small societies resident in nucleated villages. The peasant village in aggregate constituted the missing dark matter which had a profound, shaping influence on the pattern of landownership. The greater the difficulty encountered by the powerful in building up their estates and the more widespread the evidence of dispersed landholding, the more numerous and resilient were the peasant villages. On this reckoning, there had been a shift in the balance of wealth in the countryside, but the peasantry continued to form the human foundation of the Byzantine state, as it would until its last days.

The pattern of ownership was undoubtedly more complex than has often been assumed, with many more small and middling properties nestling in the numerous interstices between large estates. The same is true of the social order. We should not be too schematic, assuming for example that all tenants (*paroikoi*) were of modest status. Social and economic relations might be at variance, a man of standing and means renting as well as owning land—as, for example, a retired military officer (the ex-kentarch Constantine) who leased four times as much land as other tenants on an estate sold to the monastery of

⁵⁷ Cf. R. Estangüi Gómez and M. Kaplan, 'La société rurale au XIe siècle: une réévaluation', *TM* 21.2 (2017), 531–60, at 537, 551–2, 556–7.

⁵⁸ Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, 90–2, 280–6, 309–10.

Xeropotamou in the middle of the tenth century, or the rich tenant who stands out from the other tenants acquired by Andronikos Doukas in 1073 because of the level of his tax assessment (24 nomismata), or the three tourmarchs who leased land from the metropolitan see of Reggio.⁵⁹ The property market too should not be simplified unduly. It was probably as active, offering as many opportunities for making (and losing) money, as that of the late antique empire in the east. After all, Roman law still offered the full range of contracts for leasing, mortgaging, and purchasing property. The Byzantinist just does not have the documentation to watch the various processes at work in town and country as he can in sixth-century Egypt. But there is one, very telling document which, for a brief moment, casts a clear, bright light on the metropolitan property market: Michael Attaleiates' will, which doubled as the original charter of the monastery-cum-poorhouse in Constantinople and poorhouse in Raidestos which he founded. He had taken full advantage of the metropolitan property market, to build up a varied portfolio of assets in the course of his career as a judge in the capital. The assets were itemized in his will. The two large houses at the centre of those charitable complexes were bought by him from his relatives by marriage. He owned a small country house (inherited from his wife) and the surrounding estate (bought after her death), a number of other country estates (*proasteia*) bought (bequeathed in one case) at different times and dispersed except for a cluster at Mesokomion, three *aulai* (houses around a courtyard) with rented accommodation and commercial premises in Constantinople, and commercial property at Selymbria and Raidestos.⁶⁰

The beginning of wisdom is to acknowledge how little we know, how much more complicated the rural and urban property markets may have been than is indicated by our scanty source material, and how the slow, slow shift in the balance of landholding between peasant and larger landowner was simply one feature in an ever-changing land and property market, where family properties mutated over time (divided at death, combined at marriage—although cash and chattels formed the majority of most dowries), family fortunes fluctuated, some rising, others falling, and much money could be made by managers on large estates and by hard-headed entrepreneurs in the urban rented sector as well as from leases of agricultural land.⁶¹

⁵⁹ J. Bompaire, ed., *Actes de Xéropotamou*, Archives de l'Athos 3 (Paris, 1964), no. 1; *Engrapha Patmou*, II, no. 50.133–6, with G.G. Litavrin, 'Malo otsenennoe svidetelstvo o neo-bychnom sluchae parikiï', in R.M. Shukurov, ed., *More i berega* (Moscow, 2009), 379–84 and Thonemann, *Maeander Valley*, 266; *Brébion de Rhègion*, 370, 431, 432–3.

⁶⁰ Attaleiates' will, ed. P. Gautier, 'La diataxis de Michel Attaliate', *REB* 39 (1981), 5–143, trans. A.-M. Talbot in Thomas and Hero, *Foundation Documents*, I, 326–76. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 65–112; Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 36.

⁶¹ J.-C. Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (Xe–XIIe siècle)', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort and C. Morriison, eds, *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, II, VIIIe–XVe siècle

DEFENCE POLICY

Three of the phenomena highlighted by Ostrogorsky have been discussed—a new lively phase in the history of Byzantine culture and education (sponsored from on high), the emergence of two principal axes of power among the leading aristocratic families (court and provincial military), and, third, sustained pressure exerted by the *powerful* on the property of the *poor*, the smallholders. None of them, however, can be construed as having rotted the structure of the Byzantine state and hastened its vertiginous decline in the 1060s and 1070s.

The emperor who is most lauded by the intelligentsia for his promotion of higher education, sponsorship of prestige buildings, and patronage of the arts, Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), is also subjected to psogic blackening as a pleasure-seeker, spendthrift, and prodigal with honours. This is the portrait presented by historians, among them the most successful of his protégés (Psellos). Monomachos is made responsible for initiating Byzantium's decline by Skylitzes, who wrote a full account of the reign towards the end of the century and homed in on the decision (also decried by Attaleiates) to raise money rather than extract military service from Iberia (in line with what was happening in much of the empire).⁶² These historians, however, do not accuse him of antipathy to the armed forces. Rather, like his predecessor, Michael IV (1034–41), he is portrayed as attentive to military needs and committed to the maintenance of strong frontier defences, especially after the first Turkish successes in the east around 1050.⁶³ There was no easing of the tax burden after the death of Basil II, nor, almost certainly, any significant cutback in defence spending. We hear instead of new measures to improve the efficacy of the fiscal system and to eliminate tax evasion around 1040, a campaign which climaxed in the last two years of Monomachos' reign and which led to accusations of extortionate taxation. The grip of the fiscal apparatus was not loosened subsequently as the threats from without grew more serious through the 1060s and 1070s.⁶⁴

(Paris, 1991), 199–213; J. Howard-Johnston, 'Partitive Inheritance in Principle and in Practice in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in B. Caseau and S.R. Huebner, eds, *Inheritance, Law and Religions in the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds* (Paris, 2014), 259–71, at 268–71?

⁶² *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin, 1973) (cited henceforth as Skylitzes), 476.44–59 (trans. 392–3); Psellos, vi.29; Miguel Atalates, *Historia*, ed. and trans. I. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2002) (cited henceforth as Attaleiates), 15.6–8, 34.5–10, 36.5–20 (trans. 31, 79, 85–7). Cf. W. Danny, 'Society and the State in Byzantium 1025–1071' (D.Phil., Oxford, 2007), c. 2.

⁶³ Michael IV: Psellos, iv.19.3–15. Monomachos: Skylitzes, 454.27–9 (trans. 377); Attaleiates, 36.7–8 (trans. 85). Cf. A. Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood: The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade* (New York, 2017), 208–13, 227–8.

⁶⁴ Skylitzes, 404. 54–9 (trans. 335), 476.49–50, 53–4 (trans. 392–3); Attaleiates, 38.5–20 (trans. 89–91). Cf. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 143–51.

As for the court and provincial military, the key phenomenon, as we have seen, was not their rivalry—taken by Ostrogorsky to have been highly divisive and destructive, in that it led to policies designed to weaken the armed forces—but the formation of nexuses of connections between them which enhanced the power and influence of both groups.⁶⁵ One might go so far as to assert that there was greater social cohesion at the highest level than there had been for many centuries and that this made a vital contribution to the survival of a Byzantine state through the two decades of disasters. Nor finally was the peasant villager an endangered species by the end of the eleventh century. Rural society remained, insofar as one can judge from the sparse evidence, as diverse as ever in social and economic terms. There was an active land market leading to fluctuations of fortune among the better off, but villages of tenacious and independent-minded peasant proprietors were still in the ascendant, save perhaps where market forces were at their strongest, in the metropolitan region and in Aegean lands close to thriving ports.⁶⁶

Deliberate cutbacks in expenditure on defence, as envisaged by Ostrogorsky, can probably be ruled out. It does not follow, however, that there was no general demilitarization of Byzantium, no gradual shift in ideas among the governing elite as they looked out over a world once again from an imperial vantage point. If we allow, as I think we should, space for a society's *imaginaire* to exert influence over thinking, planning, and policymaking, we should look for signs that the grim determination of previous generations was weakening—say in a preference for negotiation over combat or for the use of surrogates in place of Byzantine troops. A change of attitude at the top is unlikely to have been confined to the top, there being no impermeable membrane between the governing elite and the *powerful* nor between the *powerful* and other elements in society, ranging from middling proprietors to peasant villagers. So we should look at attitudes to military service, alert also to any decline in the fighting quality of Byzantine forces.

There is *prima facie* evidence of a new sense of ease in the apparatus of government—in the increased prominence of peacetime activities, notably the proliferation of ephemeral and not so ephemeral writings on non-military, non-political matters by members of the court. After a single, unsuccessful venture into the field by Romanos III Argyros, a former chief justice, the direct connection between emperor and armed forces was severed, until the seizure of power by Isaac Komnenos in 1057. Only when the capital was threatened by

⁶⁵ Cheynet, 'Social Change'.

⁶⁶ Attaleiates' acquisitions in and around the Marmara towns of Raideustos and Selymbria as well as in Constantinople testify to a thriving property market, as do the individual donations which transformed the Euergetis monastery just outside Constantinople into a rich establishment in the second half of the eleventh century (Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 43–5).

the Rus in 1043, did Monomachos take charge of operations.⁶⁷ Diplomacy assumed a larger role in the conduct of foreign affairs, although it had always been important, military action taking place within a framework of diplomatic activity and client-management. Foreign mercenaries loomed larger than before on the field of battle—above all Rus, Franks, and Normans. Exotic and unusual soldiers were likely to attract more attention than the main body of indigenous troops in an imperial army (as had been the case with Justinian's armies), but there were undoubtedly more of them than before. Byzantium had resumed its imperial status and expected to attract troops from far and wide into its service.

As for fighting capability, this is hard to judge. Expectations were perhaps unrealistically high after the military successes of Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II, hence perhaps the salience of military defeats in the sources. There was indeed no lack of reverses in the decades following Basil's death, especially from around 1050 in southern Italy and on the Armenian approaches to Anatolia. Even in the Balkans, which was successfully defended and became the state's main resource-base in the twelfth century, open battle could and did result in the decisive defeat of Byzantine field armies at the hands of Pechenegs, Serb insurgents, and Normans. There is also explicit testimony. Kutlumuş, a noted Seljuq leader, is reported to have come back with a low opinion of Byzantine troops after a swift passage through south-west Armenia (in 1048). His opinion was echoed in the Balkans after a crushing defeat inflicted by the Pechenegs (in 1049)—Byzantine soldiers, it was said, were ready to turn and flee at the sound of hoofbeats.⁶⁸ On the other hand, many notable deeds of valour are reported in the sources and victories were won.⁶⁹ There was a cadre of senior generals, evidently highly respected, who were involved in debates about strategy and the defence effort on the ground. The classical Byzantine techniques of defensive guerrilla warfare were used successfully both in the Balkans against the Pechenegs (in 1051) and against Turks and Türkmén in western Armenia (in 1048 and 1057–8).⁷⁰ There was no question of Byzantine forces' giving up the struggle, as those of the east Roman Empire did, momentarily, in 654.⁷¹ They fought on, and,

⁶⁷ Romanos Argyros: Skylitzes, 379.75–381.37 (trans. 315–16); Psellos, iii.7–11. Monomachos: Skylitzes, 430.53–432.95 (trans. 358–9); Psellos, vi.93.1–96.3; Attaleiates, 16.18–17.10 (trans.33–5).

⁶⁸ Skylitzes, 446.79–3, 468.34–469.45 (trans. 371, 387).

⁶⁹ For example, Skylitzes, 446.79–447.3, 468.39–469.45 (trans. 371–2, 387).

⁷⁰ Against Pechenegs: Skylitzes, 471.17–473.63 (trans. 389–90); Attaleiates, 27.18–28.15 (trans. 61–3). Against Turks: Skylitzes, 448.48–450.6, 462.43–464.10 (trans. 373, 382–4); Aristakes of Lastivert, ed. K.N. Yuzbashian (Erevan, 1963), 116.23–118.16, trans. M. Canard and H. Berbérian, *Aristakès de Lastivert, Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, Bibliothèque de Byzantion 5 (Brussels, 1973), 106–7.

⁷¹ *Patmut' iwn Sebeosi*, ed. G.V. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), 170.14–17, trans. R.W. Thomson in *idem* and J. Howard-Johnston, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, Translated Texts for Historians 31 (Liverpool, 1999), with *Historical Commentary*, n.75.

under the Komnenoi, made determined efforts to recover the ground lost in Asia Minor.

There was some demilitarization but this was a consequence of the considerable enlargement of Byzantine territory achieved by impressive feats of arms in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. It was impractical to maintain a large standing army of the old sort, each theme being responsible for supplying a contingent of land-based troops who combined to form the bulk of the fighting manpower in a field army. For most themes now lay far from the frontier and it would take time, expense, and a considerable logistics effort to deploy them where they might be needed. It was the soldiers raised in the new frontier themes, established on conquered and annexed territory, who now filled out the ranks of field armies, around a hard core of *tagma* (guards) regiments of full-time salaried soldiers, some of whom were permanently stationed at strategic positions in frontier zones under the command of dukes or katepans.

The trend towards demilitarization of the themes of the interior was already discernible in the middle of the tenth century. Eight hundred men from the long-established theme of Thrakesion on the Aegean coastlands of Anatolia were earmarked for service on a naval and military expedition against Crete scheduled for 949. In the event they did not take part, buying their way out at a cost of four nomismata per man. They were replaced by the whole military establishment, totalling 705 officers and men, from a small eastern theme, Charpezikion, located in rugged country to the north of Melitene, on the right bank of the Euphrates.⁷² In the course of the next few generations, military governors (*strategoï*) of the old, large themes of Anatolia, were phased out and replaced by judges (*kritai*). This was a return to the traditional system of Roman administration, according to which civil governors combined the functions of overseeing the administration and presiding over the provincial justice system. It was a development which resulted in the revival of the old distinction between a civilian interior and a militarized periphery.⁷³

Since there is clear evidence by the 970s of a new two-tier system of command in frontier zones, both in the east and in the Balkans, and since a new assertiveness by judges was noted and deplored in a military handbook commissioned by Nikephoros Phokas, it looks as if this fundamental change in the structure of the revived empire was already under way in the second half of

⁷² J.F. Haldon, 'Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*', *TM* 13 (2000), 201–352, at 220–3 (c. 45.49–53, 59–62, 92–5). Theme of Charpezikion: *Escorial Taktikon*, ed. and trans. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de présence byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 267.14.

⁷³ Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration', 69–76.

the tenth century.⁷⁴ The new system was well established by 1040, when theme judges can be seen to be in charge of taxation.⁷⁵ This marked a second stage in the accumulation of competences by theme judges. A corollary was the creation early in the reign of Monomachos of a new central department to hold theme judges responsible for their non-judicial functions.⁷⁶ The new-style theme judge was ubiquitous by the 1060s. The judges with whom Michael Psellos corresponded were in post in all the interior themes of Asia Minor, from Opsikion and Boukellarion on the Asian side of the Bosphoros to Charsianon and Cappadocia. To judge by the list of his correspondents, the zone of civilian government ended at the eastern edge of the Anatolian plateau, the small themes beyond the Euphrates and Taurus range retaining *strategoï* as senior-ranking figures in local government. A similar division between inner civilian and outer military themes is revealed in the Balkans, roughly along the line of the Haemus mountains, to judge by Psellos' letters which were addressed to the judges of Thrace, Macedonia, Boleron, Drougoubiteia, and Katotika (Hellas and Peloponnese).⁷⁷

The shift to a civilian head of government in the themes clearly had some effect on attitudes, both in the local administration and among the provincials. But there was no reason to expect a wholesale abandonment of military careers by families long committed to serving in the army. While many military families may have turned to civilian life, the gentry who held military estates paying up cash in lieu of military service, a fair number probably kept up the family tradition and enrolled in the *tagmata*, guards regiments, which proliferated across the empire. As professional, full-time soldiers, they were better paid and could be readily deployed far from home. The traditional recruiting grounds continued to supply men for the army, to judge from the names of units mentioned in historical sources. A large cast of generals and army units feature in the detailed account of the rebellion of Isaac Komnenos, which gathered way in Anatolia in 1057. The regiments mentioned came from Macedonia, Anatolikon (two *tagmata*, of Pisidians and Lykaonians), Armeniakon, Charsianon, Chaldia, Koloneia, and Cappadocia.⁷⁸ Demilitarization did not entail a general softening of the Byzantine fibre.

The outer zone was much more militarized. Troops were levied from the many small themes into which the annexed lands were divided.⁷⁹ Instead of a

⁷⁴ Two-tier system: *Escorial Taktikon*, 255–77. Assertive judges: G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, ed. and trans., *Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)* (Paris, 1986), 110–11 (c. 19.7–8).

⁷⁵ Skylitzes, 408.76–409.79 (trans. 338). ⁷⁶ Attaleiates, 17.24–18.1 (trans. 37).

⁷⁷ Jeffreys-Lauxtermann, *Letters of Psellos*, 463 (index, *sv. krites*).

⁷⁸ Skylitzes, 487.22–3, 488.1, 50, 53–4, 491.28, 47, 492.64–6, 493.78–9 (trans. 401–2, 404–5).

⁷⁹ List of themes: *Escorial Taktikon*, 265.13–15, 19–22, 32, 267.6–7, 11–30, 34, 269.1–15, with comments at 344–6 and 354–63. Cf. H.-J. Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata* (Vienna, 1991), 61–4; J. Howard-Johnston,

single imperial field army, comprising theme cavalry (their expenses funded from assigned military lands), theme infantry from the villages, and guards regiments accompanying the emperor or the senior guards commander, the Domestic of the Scholai, regional groupings of theme forces were established, which could be taken over by a duke or katepan and combined with a body of *tagma* troops under his direct command. Three such ducal commands are listed for the east in the *Escorial Taktikon* of the later 970s (Chaldia, Mesopotamia, and Antioch), another three in the Balkans ((western) Mesopotamia under a katepan (on the lower Danube), Thessalonike and Adrianople) and one in southern Italy (Italy under a katepan). When the posts were filled and the commands were activated, their forces were bipartite, like the old imperial field army: guards troops formed a professional core, around which were assembled the theme levies.⁸⁰

The basic framework of the new system of defence in the east was shaped by the general configuration of the land. There were two distinct potential theatres of war in western Armenia, on either side of the west–east mountain spine formed by the Munzur Dağ, Şeytan Dağları, and Bingöl Dağ. They were covered by the commands of Chaldia and Mesopotamia.⁸¹ To judge by the paucity of evidence of correspondence with the capital, the Chaldia post seems to have been left vacant for long periods, from which it follows that the command existed more in theory than in practice.⁸² They were both superseded, in the course of the reign of Basil II, by two new outer commands. The duke or katepan of Iberia, which was annexed in 1000, commanded the eastern approaches to the Araxes-Euphrates watershed via Basean from the great plain of Ararat, while his colleague to the south managed Vaspurakan, after its cession in 1022 by its Artsruni ruler, and watched the line of advance to the south of Ararat from the Urmia region to the Bagrewand plain, where the Arsaniyas gathers its headwaters. In this easternmost zone, no attempt was

'Military and Provincial Reform in the East in the Tenth Century', in B. Caseau, V. Prigent, and A. Sopracasca, eds, *Mélanges Jean-Claude Cheynet*, *TM* 21.1 (2017), 285–309.

⁸⁰ Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration', 46–52; J.-C. Cheynet, 'Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XI siècle', *TM* 9 (1985), 181–94, at 181–6; Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee*, 158–68. At least seven themes came under the command of the Duke of Dyrrachion in 1042, when a counter-insurgency campaign ended in disaster (Skylitzes, 424.62–425.97, trans. 352–3).

⁸¹ *Escorial Taktikon*, 263.29–30. Cf. Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee*, 182–7.

⁸² Very few of the lead seals used to authenticate and secure letters have survived for a duke or katepan of Chaldia: one seal of a katepan of Chaldia alone—N.P. Likhachev, *Molivdovuly grecheskovo vostoka* (Moscow, 1991), 101–2 (no. lxiii.5); one of a katepan of Iberia and Chaldia—G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II (Berne, 1984), 333 (no. 695); one of a duke of Chaldia and Mesopotamia—E. McGeer, J.W. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomidès, eds, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 6 vols (Washington, D.C., 1991–2009), IV, 138–9 (no. 55.10). Cf. Holmes, *Basil II*, 315–19.

made to introduce lower-tier theme commands.⁸³ To the south of the Armenian Taurus, the senior eastern command at Antioch oversaw northern Syria and the routes leading south to the great Muslim power of the Middle East, Fatimid Egypt. That was a post which seems to have been kept filled. It was fronted by a second ducal command at Edessa after its capture in the winter of 1031–2, which formed a powerful outer bastion shielding Byzantine north Syria from attack from Iraq.⁸⁴ Geography likewise dictated that there should be three Balkan high commands, covering (1) Thrace and the lower Danube valley (Duke of Adrianople or Katepan of Paristrion), (2) the river valleys, plains and uplands of Macedonia (Duke of Thessalonike or Duke of Bulgaria), and (3), from 1042, the Adriatic coastlands (Duke of Dyrrachion), with a fourth western command in southern Italy (Katepan of Italy).⁸⁵

Within this general framework there was considerable flux as circumstances changed, both with respect to the nature of the threat and to the stance of Byzantine forces. If all was calm on one front, and Byzantine forces were concentrated in another theatre of operations, posts might be left vacant. The main base might move forward or backward—for example between Dristra and Adrianople in the eastern Balkans (hence the alternative designations of the high command) and between Skopje (capital of Byzantine Bulgaria) and Thessalonike in the centre. It was a flexible system, well designed to cope with the familiar adversaries—Arab raiders by land and sea, northern nomads, refractory highland peoples in the Balkans, and Lombard neighbours.⁸⁶ In the east, where the greatest danger was likely to materialize, Byzantium strengthened its grip on the localities in western Armenia, Cilicia, and northern Syria, by creating a grid of small themes, within which existing elites (below the level of the leading princely family) could be handled with care so as to secure their effective co-option into the Byzantine system of local government. In the outer regions of Iberia and Vaspurakan, direct rule was imposed from the top, when the ruling princes and many of their nobles were lured west with the offer of lands in Anatolia, the granting of court titles, and the prospect of preferment in imperial service.⁸⁷ The authorities moved cautiously, anxious not to disturb the social order at the level of the localities.

⁸³ Both outer commands, like that of Mesopotamia, are represented by seals in the largest modern collection at Dumbarton Oaks—*DO Seals*, IV, 138 (Mesopotamia—nos 55.7–9), 166–7 (Iberia—no. 75.1), 170–1 (Vaspurakan—no. 77.1). Cf. Kühn, *Armee*, 187–95.

⁸⁴ *Escorial Taktikon*, 263.28 (Antioch). *DO Seals*, IV, 162–3 (Edessa—no. 73.1–2), V, 20–8 (Antioch—no. 9.1–9). Cf. Kühn, *Armee*, 170–81, 195–202.

⁸⁵ *Escorial Taktikon*, 263.31–4. *DO Seals*, I, 17–18 (Italy—nos 2.4–6), 40–2 (Dyrrachion—nos 12.1–3, 5), 51, 57–8 (Thessalonike—nos 18.15–16), 93–4 (Bulgaria—nos 29.2–3), 123–4 (Adriacopolis—no. 44.1), 150–2 (Dristra, Paradounavon—nos 65.1, 67.1). Cf. Kühn, *Armee*, 206–21, 223–33, 236–9.

⁸⁶ Cf. Holmes, *Basil II*, 313–67, 403–17, 420–5, 430–40.

⁸⁷ K.N. Yuzbashian, 'L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux Xe–XIe siècles', *REA* n.s. 10 (1973–4), 139–83, at 148–68.

In the case of Iberia, twenty years passed before they moved to dissolve the regional host and to replace it with regular troops, roughly the same period as that between the final submission of Bulgaria in 1018 and the shift from taxation in kind to taxation in coin.⁸⁸

It is clear then that there was no thoroughgoing demilitarization of Byzantium, that imperial policy neither deliberately nor inadvertently undermined the empire's defences. The tax authorities continued to Hoover up resources from the people, through the regular land and poll taxes and, in addition, through new, irregular impositions. There was popular resentment, which could cause local unrest and vented itself on two particularly innovative finance ministers, the Orphanotrophos John under Michael IV (1034–41) and Nikephoros under Michael VII Doukas (1071–8).⁸⁹ The regional commands functioned as they were designed to do. There was the usual incidence of incompetence and disagreement in the high command, which contributed to some major reverses.⁹⁰ Forces might be fed piecemeal into a theatre and suffer successive defeats in detail.⁹¹ Rebellions and insurgencies might spread and cause considerable damage.⁹² But there was no fundamental flaw in the new system of regional commands, nor a sudden decline in fighting quality. This was evident in the Balkans: the Byzantine authorities were able to maintain their grip on all the former Bulgar-ruled territory, between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, which John Tzimiskes and Basil II had gained and which constituted some two-thirds of the total Balkan land mass.

The grave weakening of Byzantium which occurred between 1050 and 1081 is explicable primarily in terms of the nature of the threats which it faced from without. In both cases of Anatolia and southern Italy, Byzantium's adversaries were unfamiliar. They attacked in unexpected ways. Centuries had passed since Romans had last faced Germanic forces fresh from the north when local Byzantine forces, dispersed across the towns of Apulia, found themselves trying to contain predatory Norman warbands, tightly bound together in comradeship and eager to display their manhood in battle.⁹³ In the east, the

⁸⁸ Iberia: Skylitzes, 476.51–3 (trans. 393); Attaleiates, 34.5–10 (trans. 79); Kekaumenos, ed. and trans. Litavrin, 152.18–154.3; cf. Danny, *Society and the State*, c. 2. Bulgaria: Skylitzes, 412.67–76 (trans. 340–1); cf. P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), 135–7.

⁸⁹ John Orphanotrophos: Skylitzes, 404.54–9, 408.53–409.79, 411.57–412.76 (trans. 335, 337–8, 340–1); Psellos, iv.19.15–21. Nikephoritzes: Attaleiates, 133.17–135.15, 147.19–150.17 (trans. 329–33, 365–73). Cf. D. Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates and the Politics of Imperial Decline in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (Tempe, AZ, 2012), 22–7, 107–9.

⁹⁰ Aristakes, 80.7–81.2 (trans. 68–72).

⁹¹ For example, against the Pechenegs in 1048: Skylitzes, 466.81–470.94 (trans. 385–8); Attaleiates, 25.3–27.4 (trans. 57–61).

⁹² For example, the 1040 rebellion of Deljan in the Balkans—Skylitzes 409.87–411.45, 411.51–412.76, 412.88–414.26, 414.29–47 (trans. 338–43).

⁹³ R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), 91–102; G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000), 60–145.

threat posed by Turks was quite unprecedented. It was not so much their formidable fighting skills, honed in central Asia, as the very different military challenges posed by large, organized Seljuq armies, on the one hand, and small swift-moving Türkmen warbands on the other. Each was hard to stop from pushing forward in the relatively open country between the highlands of Iberia to the north and of Vaspurakan to the south, and impossible to contain, once they passed beyond the great mass of the Bingöl Dağ and could divide into forays. In addition, the Turks had a commander of genius in Sultan Alp Arslan who achieved strategic surprise before the climactic battle of Manzikert in 1071.⁹⁴

The problems from without were compounded by political dissension on the Byzantine side, local and endemic in the case of southern Italy, short, sharp, and devastating in its effects in the case of Anatolia after the capture and release of Romanos IV Diogenes by Alp Arslan. Still it was the force and nature of the blows inflicted by Normans and Turks which caused irreparable damage. Byzantium was hit, admittedly in a largely unplanned way, with the sort of offensive strategy which it had used in the Arab marches in the tenth century. Both Normans and Turks proved even more effective at diminishing regional resources and eroding the will to resist. Both the Normans on a small scale and the Turks on a large were able to advance step by step and, in a mere generation, take over whole regions, brushing aside the high commands put in place by Byzantium. Byzantium was not, of course, the only victim of these rising powers—the Ghaznavid Empire was destroyed, the Buyid emirates of Iran were overrun, and the metropolitan region of the caliphate was conquered, before the Turks began their assault on Byzantium, while other Normans netted a great prize in the far north-west, a well-organized Anglo-Danish kingdom.

⁹⁴ A.C.S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh, 2015), 20–58; A.D. Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca.1040–1130* (Abingdon, 2017), 62–168.

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